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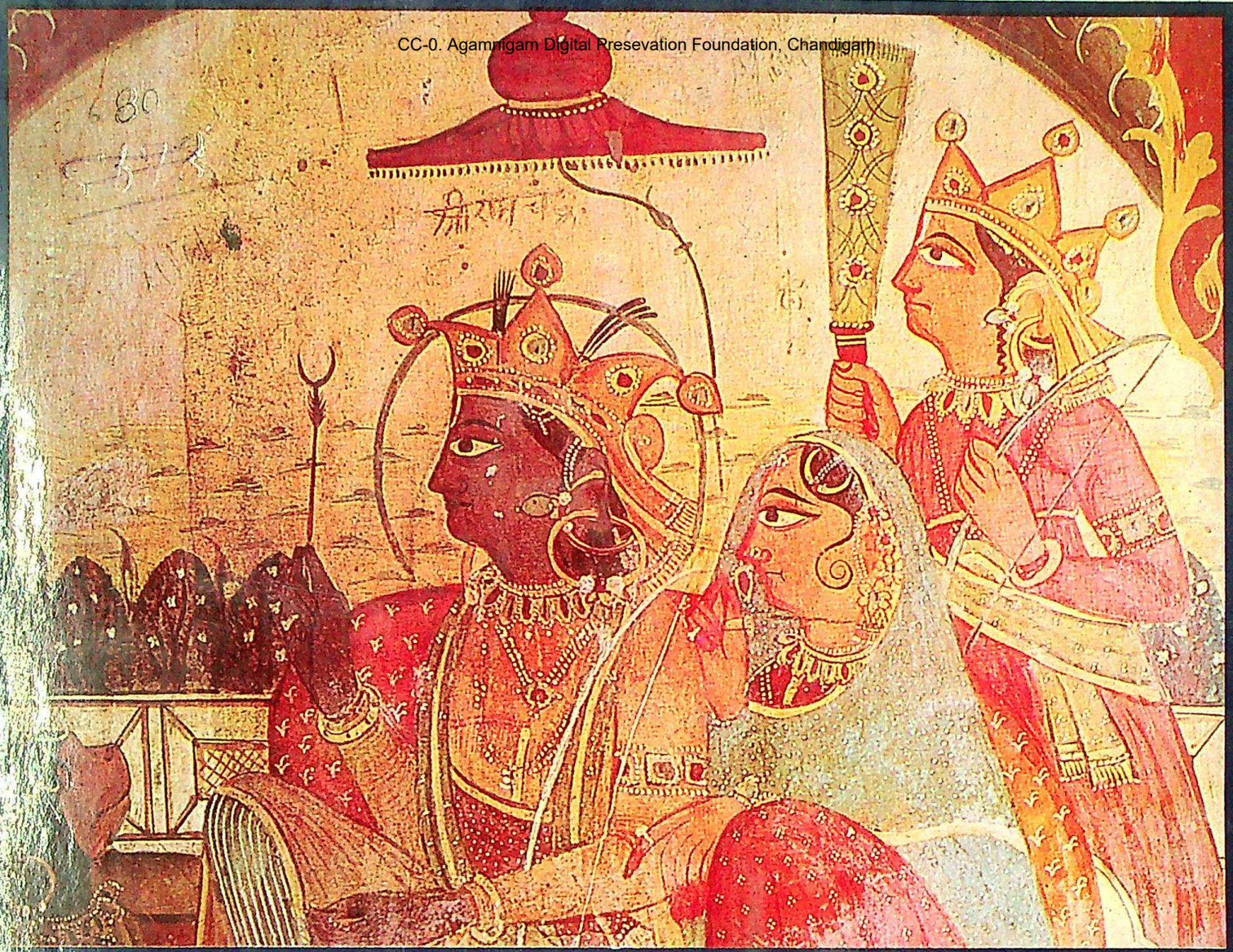

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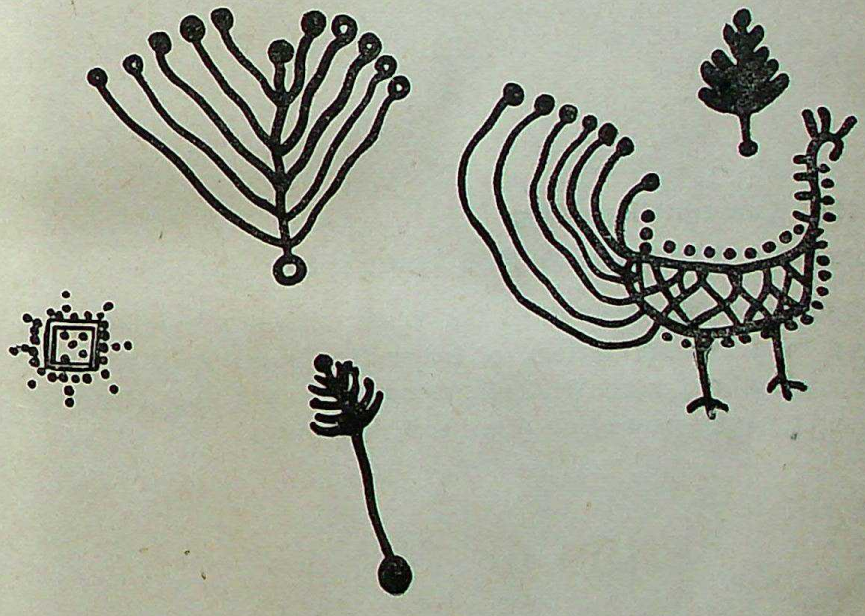

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Foreword

In the traditional life of Punjab, the vibrations of man's life on earth were rendered in the atmosphere of the home in the everyday life, to sustain human beings above the torpor of 'dailiness'. From the singing of prayers in the morning, to the putting of the open hand on the wall, the embroidering of cloth, and the consecration of the house on festivals—rhythmic activities remained the undertone of imperceptible feelings.

This continued from generation to generation, in spite of the hard struggle for survival, the invasions and natural disasters. Perhaps the threat of infiltrations from the north, ever-present in the past centuries, intensified the creative faculties.

And, in spite of the fatalisms brought by prolonged oppression of alien rulers, the Punjabi folk did not give, at the most intense levels, the belief in the life force. May be the interpenetration of races, religions and peoples, made for a composite culture and cross fertilised consciousness.

One of the strains of this composite culture is visible on the walls of the houses, shrines, palaces and forts, in the wall-paintings that have still not decayed and reveal vitalities of brushwork, right until the end of the 19th century.

It is likely that the 15th century reformation, brought by Guru Nanak and the Sikh faith, synthetized the deepest truths of the then quarreling religions Hinduism and Islam and released new folk energies in the arts. And the coming together of craftsmen of various faiths made possible the mingling of techniques.

There is no doubt that the Mughal *kalam* exercised itself on the existing folk techniques and led to new styles of feudal court art in the Punjab Himalayas.

These styles in turn were assimilated, under the Sikh patronage, at the end of the eighteenth and in nineteenth centuries, and most of the *havelis* of the noblemen under Maharaja Ranjit Singh came to be decorated with wall paintings. The Sikh princes of the middle and end nineteenth century continued to adorn their lives with colour work on the walls of their palaces, as also the *Mahants* of the shrines employed hereditary artisans.

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Such wall paintings can be seen at Patiala, Amritsar, Kapurthala, Faridkot, Jind, Anandpur and elsewhere.

The time has come to document these works as has been done by Sardar Kanwarjit Singh Kang.

But the presentation of these records should draw attention to the importance of the State Governments maintaining these wall-paintings, restoring the buildings, and renewing such activities as may give continuity to tradition. The present period is essentially a period of rediscovery, but must inevitably precede the new phase of creative effort, when old wine must be put in new bottles, intoxicate the young into the ecstasy, on which alone is human effort on other planes in the daily life possible.

MULK RAJ ANAND

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Preface

The Punjab has the honour of having remained the cradle of one of the most ancient civilisations ever flourished in the world. However, the magnanimous land of five rivers was made to witness numerous invasions and everchanging political upheavals and its people seldom had an opportunity to experience 'peace' and consequently remained nearly devoid of the blessings which the 'reign of peace' confers on humanity.

It is in the context of these historical conditions that one needs to view the cultural history of Punjab, to know its creative instincts, not from what is extant, as we see in many other parts of India in the form of grand monuments, but with the spirit of seeing the creative potentials of the Punjabis as constant sufferers of war and rapine; not evaluating it merely on the basis of what survives, for what survives in Punjab today forms a very small portion of what must have once existed.

This study is primarily aimed at documenting the surviving remains of wall-paintings from Punjab and Haryana and is born of the sense of frustration of seeing these works decaying and disappearing, year after year. Much has already been claimed by time and the forces of nature; I feel therefore that there is a sense of urgency about this kind of work not only here but elsewhere in the country also, for, there is great danger that many of these works will disappear irretrievably before they have been sufficiently recorded and documented.

The remains studied and documented here are of an art which was at one time apparently very popular. Wall-paintings in 19th century Punjab were indeed very widespread, and gradually developed their own aesthetic and range of themes and styles allied to but also different from the miniatures to which many studies have been devoted. Very little work on this subject has so far been done even though we come across several references to these paintings in literary records and travellers' accounts. Even studies of Sikh paintings undertaken by scholars have paid scant attention to this aspect of the art of plains. An attempt has therefore been made in this study to put the art of wall-painting in Punjab

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and Haryana in its context, while the emphasis stays on documenting the extant remains of murals, the analysis of their themes and a study of their technique and style.

The study is based on extensive field work and as thorough a study of written records as was possible. While it was not possible for me to have access to that part of the Punjab which is now in Pakistan, I travelled extensively in the 'Indian Punjab', including present-day Haryana. My work in the field — and I have travelled from village to village in search of murals, — convinces me that what I was able to record forms a very small proportion of what must have once existed. One wishes so much that work of this kind had been done some fifty years ago, when much else than now survives must have been around.

The popularity of wall-paintings in the nineteenth century Punjab reveals that it had moved out of the charmed circle of the royalty and the nobility, and had come closer to the people. It is another matter that this is also the period of time when the vitality of the tradition to which it belonged had become remarkably low. This, however, was the corollary of the historical circumstances Punjab was subjected to through the ages. Nevertheless, this art of wall-painting commands respect, even admiration, despite its belonging to a period when blossoming of a 'style' was dependent for its nourishment mostly on narcist rather than classic knowledge.

This study embodies the result of my own research and observation over a period of more than five years, and is intended to provide sufficient reading for the student of murals to be able to probe more detailed writings on the subject. Most could have been done, but that is perhaps true of all studies. I only hope that a modestly clear picture of the art of wall-painting in Punjab and Haryana emerges from the following pages.

In the completion of this study I have received generous help which I wish to acknowledge here. The foremost of my debts is to Prof. B. N. Goswamy under whose supervision this study has been completed. I have been greatly helped by discussion with Dr. M. S. Randhawa, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Dr. Attar Singh and S. Man Mohan Singh. I have also to gratefully acknowledge the generous help I have received in various forms from a large number of persons whose name appear in a section of the bibliography, and several kind friends.

Chandigarh,
October 24, 1984

Kanwarjit Singh Kang

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, SHORT TITLES ETC.

A.S.I.R.	*Archaeological Survey of India, Report.*
E.W.A.	*Encyclopaedia of World Art.*
J.I.A.	*Journal of Indian Art (& Industry).*
J.P.H.S.	*Journal of Punjab Historical Society.*
J.P.U.H.S.	*Journal of Panjab University Historical Society.*
Lt. Barr, Journal	Barr, Lt. William, *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawur, and from thence to Cabul, including travels in the Punjab*, London, 1844.
(V)	Village.
(P)	Books in *Punjabi*

N.B. Several other short titles have been used; only those not instantly recognisable are included in the above list.

All photographs, colour and black and white, by Kanwarjit Singh Kang.

Drawing credits :

Mrs. Diljit Kaur Kang — 1 to 13, 15 to 26, 28 to 30, 32 to 36, 38, 41 to 43, 45, 46

Satwant Singh — 14, 27, 31, 37, 39, 40, 44, 47

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Chapter I

Social Context

The Punjab, historically so known, not the present-day Punjab, comprises six *doabs* or intra-fluvial tracts. These are the Sind-Sagar Doab — lying between the Indus and the Jhelum; the Chaj Doab — between the Jhelum and the Chenab; the Rechana Doab — between the Chenab and the Ravi; the Bari Doab — between the Ravi and the Beas; the Bist-Jullundur Doab — between the Beas and the Sutlej; and the Cis-Sutlej Doab — between the Sutlej and the Jamuna. All these rivers have their sources in the Himalayas and the confluence of their water, except those of the Sind and the Jamuna, takes place at Panjnad in the south-west corner of the Multan district, now in West Punjab in Pakistan.

Along the northern borders of the Punjab run the Himalayas which divide it from Kashmir. In its west and the north-west lies Afghanistan from which it is separated by the Suleiman range of mountains. On its southern borders, it encroaches upon the great plains of the Rajputana desert. The eastern boundary of the Punjab is not distinctly marked, but from a point near Karnal where Jamuna plunges south-eastwards, a jagged line can be drawn upto Panjnad which will demarcate the state from the rest of Hindustan and the Sind desert.[1]

Geographically, the highlands and the plains of the Punjab can be divided into four major tracts. 'The Himalayan Tract' includes most of the region which now falls in the new state of Himachal Pradesh and the people of this tract mostly consist of Hill Rajputs, Brahmins and other castes. Skirting the feet of the hills and including the low outlying range of the Shivaliks, runs the narrow 'sub-montane tract'. It includes the whole of the Hoshiarpur district and the northern parts of the districts of Ambala, Gurdaspur, Sialkot and Gujrat. Before the partition of Punjab in 1947, the Hindu element strong in Ambala and Hoshiarpur, gradually gave way to the Muslim element as we passed westwards through Gurdaspur till it faded into comparative insignificance in Sialkot.

Below this tract, the whole region consists of a wide expanse of plains. A meridian through the city of Lahore divides this wide expanse into two tracts : 'The Eastern Plains' and 'The Western Plains'. The country of the Malwa, the Doaba

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(Jullundur-Doab) and the Majha[2] form 'The Eastern Plains' and this region is the stronghold of the Sikhs. Most of that area of the Punjab, which in consequence of partition, has fallen to Pakistan, constitutes 'The Western Plains'. It includes the Sindh-Sagar Doab, the Rechna Doab and the Lower-Bari Doab. Mohammedan population predominates in this tract.

Being situated between Hindustan and the passes through which alone access to it from the great Asian Continent is possible, the Punjab, due to its geographical position, saw many far-reaching historical developments. These shaped and conditioned whatever activity it had in the field of art, language and culture. During the long course of history, the Punjab saw invasion after invasion thus bringing diverse ethnic groups and heterogeneous masses of people to the land. Local women being taken in marriage by the invaders who settled in the Punjab led to the mingling of the blood of many races.

During the period of Mughal supremacy from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, comparative peace prevailed in the province but when Mughal rule declined, the Punjab again became the scene of irruptions from the north-west. Between 1748 and 1767, Ahmad Shah invaded India eight times and the desolation which Ahmad Shah's army brought in its train is fully expressed by the proverb still current in the Punjab : "what one eats and drinks is one's own; the rest is Ahmad Shah's".[3]

During this time, the Sikhs had been consistently gathering strength. The last of the ten great Gurus having died in A.D. 1708, and the spiritual organization under a Guru being no more, gradually there grew up a loose political and military confederation, the twelve *misals*. Though the *misals* had a unity and a sense of common cause against the enemy of their faith, there were occasional inter-*misal* wars. The history of Punjab during the terrible fifty years of the second half of the 18th century is a story of continuous war and bloodshed.

At the very end of the 18th century, Ranjit Singh appeared on the scene and found in his land a weakening confederacy which was a prey to the factions of its chiefs. At this hour, the Punjab was merely a geographical expression with no sense of co-operation among its people.[4] With his great ability as a general, he carved out for himself a powerful and well-organized kingdom. After a very long time, he brought relative peace back to the Punjab, gave her an organized administration, gave to the people of the land in general and to the Sikhs in particular, a sense of pride and self-esteem and placed them on the road to prosperity.

The first acquisition of any Punjab territory by the British, resulted from Lord Lake's Maharatta campaign and its end in the treaty of Sarji-Anjangam (Dec. 30, 1803). The territory acquired was the country on the right bank of the Jamuna. The next important occurrence was Maharaja Ranjit Singh's signing the treaty of April, 1809 which left him master of the tract he had originally occupied to the South of the Sutlej but confined his ambition to expand his kingdom to the north and west of that river. With the proclamation of protection to Cis-Sutlej States against the Lahore power, made in May, 1809, the Chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Malerkotla and Kalsia were confirmed as feudal princes by the British. The treaty of 1846, after the First Sikh War, resulted in the surrender of the Cis-Sutlej districts of Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Ambala, as well as the whole of the Jullundur Doab, and the payment of heavy indemnity, in lieu of which the state of Jammu and Kashmir was ceded to the British and granted to Maharaja Gulab Singh. After the Second Sikh War, the proclamation annexing the Punjab to the British territory was made at Lahore on the 30th of March, 1849.

The new administrative set up included two classes of territory : one belonging to the British and the other in the possession of feudal chiefs. The territory belonging to the British was divided into eight Divisions embracing twenty-seven districts. In 1858, the Divisions of Delhi and Hissar were formally incorporated into the province of the Punjab adding six more to the twenty-seven original districts. The Thanesar district, however, was broken up in 1862. This division of the province into ten Divisions and thirty-two districts continued unchanged for twenty-two years. In 1884, however, the ten

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Commissionerships were reduced to six. The area of the British territory was 106,632 square miles and corresponding figures for the collective Native States were 35,817 square miles.[5]

The Punjab, in the first half of the 19th century, was a relatively thinly populated country.[6] The Sikhs, the Hindus and the Mohammedans were the three major communities. H.M. Lawrence, at the middle of the century, loosely estimated the population of the Punjab at about a quarter of a million of Sikhs, half a million of Musalmans, and three quarters of a million of Hindus,[7] but this was a wild guess. The successive censuses taken in 1855, 1866 and 1881 put the total population of the Punjab at 15,161,321; 17,609,518 and 18,850,437 respectively.[8] The figures pertaining to the followers of the three different communities given in these three censuses show that the Mohammedans always numbered more than the combined numbers of the Hindus and the Sikhs.[9]

"Region, race and tradition are the collective determinants of art, and it is not easy to isolate the influence of each single factor on art product of a particular country or people".[10] The history of the Punjab makes it clear that its people seldom had an opportunity to experience 'peace', and consequently remained devoid of all the blessings which the 'reign of peace' freely confers on humanity. Inhabitants of the historical Punjab were constant sufferers of war and rapine, nevertheless they had a taste for beauty. They indulged in creative activities whenever peace prevailed, even if for a short period. But historical conditions barely allowed them to create masterpiece in art. The tragedy was that whenever any plant of creative activity sprouted, its root was chopped off by fresh state of anarchy.

Although the sikhs' "unitarian form of belief and the ban against image-worship left very little scope for the development of visual art for needs of religious worship"[11] yet they helped its promotion, primarily because the Sikhs were as fond of decoration as the Hindus[12] were and spent large sums of money for the beautification of their shrines. In Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time Sikhism had royal patronage[13] and the Sikhs started devoting themselves to the magnificence and splendour of their shrines. Now the cult of the Gurus and the Sikhs' passionate adoration of these spiritual leaders were demanding an artistic expression.[14] The walls of over 700 shrines associated with the Sikh Gurus in the Punjab[15] were available for embellishment. The endowments and eleemosynary grant[16] worth thousands of rupees provided for these shrines to be built in *pacca* masonry. Contributions in the form of money, produce and labour by the Sikhs for the construction of these shrines, came in vogue. Many individuals went to the extent of getting certain portions of the walls painted as an act of dedication.[17]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Sikhs had devoted themselves to their own preservation. The conditions of Sikh life having undergone a considerable change since the emergence of Ranjit Singh, however, an opportunity existed for encouraging the visual arts. But the limitations imposed upon the Sikhs by the absence of any artistic heritage, were considerable. All they could easily achieve was the enrichment of interiors and exteriors of their lodgings and religious edifices and get excellent portraits of Sikh nobility painted. As has been said : "The idea of beauty that obtains at a given time, and in a given class of society, has its roots...in the historical conditions in which this society or class arose and existed."[18]

The general prosperity of the Sikhs and their sense of self-esteem were not the only causes for the new interest in wall-painting; their intimate relationship with the Hindus was also a factor in this development. The Sikhs had given up their protestant attitude towards Brahmanical Hinduism[19] and the followers of both the orders drew so close to each other that the distinction between Sikh and Hindu became one of mere form ; the Khalsa wore their hair and beards unshorn, the Hindu did not.[20] Nearly all the Sikh villagers revered and made use of the Brahman almost as freely as their Hindu neighbours did.[21] Their day-to-day religious practices had been affected by Hindu Brahmanical symbols and associations to the extent that at popular agricultural level worship of icons of gods and goddesses had become all but common.[22] Even in the precincts of the premier Sikh temples, there were idols of Rama and other Hindu gods and deities.[23]

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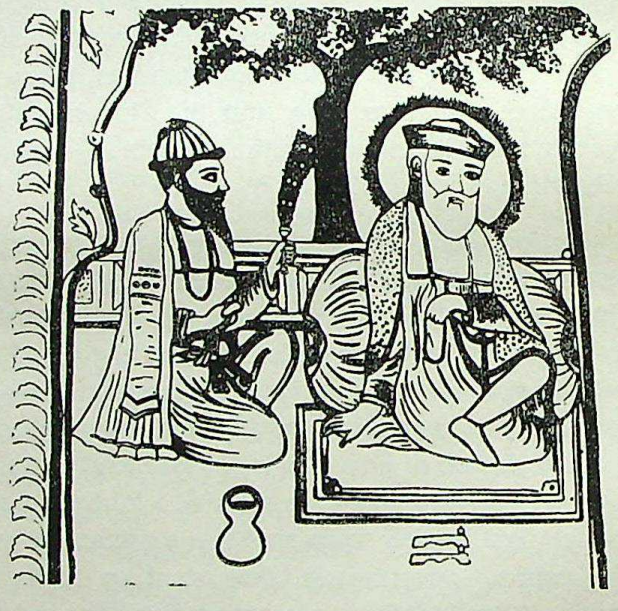
It was through reciprocal processes that traditions and customs of the two faiths interpenetrated into each other resulting in harmony and profoundly influencing their daily life. Perhaps all this originated from their mutual "emotional identification",[24] for they had suffered together from opression under the later Mughals. The *akharas* of the Udasis had served as a unifying institution for the Hindus and the Sikhs.[25] The Hindus frequently worshipped at Sikh shrines ; we even have the 'Brahamana Wala Bunga'[26] built by Brahmans in the vicinity of the *gurudwara* at Tarn Taran. Even the Ram Lila used to be performed in the Darbar Sahib at Tarn Taran.[27]

The close and amicable relationship between the Sikhs and the Hindus, right from the lower strata of society, through the middle class up to the very top of the circle, was noticeable. Hindu festivals were celebrated with great pomp and show in the Sikh Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Dushera[28] and Holi[29] were functions of great rejoicing and no less than one lakh of rupees used to be spent upon the latter occasion.[30] The attempt made by the Jat Sikh family of the Sandhanwalias for admission to the social rites of the Kshatriyas,[31] perhaps as a further augmentation to their social status, bespeaks of the tendency of the Sikh aristocracy to get incorporated into the large Kshatriya fold through observing Hindu rituals.

Hindu-Sikh relations, amicable as they were, had far reaching effects. The veneration of Hindu gods did not at all affect the Sikhs' devotion to their Gurus, and the holy *Guru Granth Sahib* continued to be their supreme spiritual guide. On the other hand, it modified the earlier orthodox attitudes of the Sikhs which made them refrain, among other things, from depicting their Gurus in pictorial art with its association of image-worship.[32] Portraits of the Sikh Gurus began to be painted on walls as well as on paper.[33] The building of Hindu temples by the Sikhs[34] and installation of idols in the new *shivalas* by them,[35] resulted in the appearance of Sikh themes in the wall-paintings of temples dovoted to Hindu gods. Similarly the building of *gurudwaras* by Hindus[36] led to Hindu themes being painted on the walls of Sikh shrines. The fact that there were Hindu priests at certain Sikh shrines and Sikh priests



1. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Gurudwara Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, District Amritsar.

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at certain Hindu shrines,[37] also caused this exchange of themes which did not extend only to mural painting but also percolated into other areas like Janam Sakhi paintings[38] and wood-carving.[39]

The muslims in the Punjab who outnumbered the combined Hindu and Sikh population, did not favour painting at least on the walls, due to the general prejudice against 'the image' in Islam.[40] But even here, they had been influenced by their contacts with the Hindus and the Sikhs.

Speaking of the characteristics of race being more deep-rooted and enduring than those of religion, Cunningham points out[41] that many Mohammedans clung sometimes to the beliefs and faiths of the Hindus from whom they had originally come.[42] "Many tribes of converted Musalmans" writes Ibbetson, "retain and fee Brahmans as a matter of course; while some actually employ them to conduct their marriages after the Hindu ceremonial, only adding the Mohammedan ritual as a legal precaution."[43] Living thus side by side with their Hindu and Sikh brethren in the same or the next village, sharing property in the same land, and forming a part of the same family with them, it was impossible that the Muslim converts should not have largely retained their old customs and ideas.[44]

There were many areas of contact and mutual influence. Thus, many tombs of Muslim saints were venerated both by the Hindus and the followers of Islam.[45] Muslim *dhadis* and *rababis* were the chief musicians at the Sikh shrines in Amritsar and Nankana Sahib.[46] The Sikhs also shared in Muslim festivals like Mohurrum[47] and attended fairs at their shrines.[48] They also paid respect at the tombs of various Muslim saints.[49]

The queer manner in which religions were intermingled in the 19th century Punjab is demonstrated by the principal shrine of Sakhi Sarwar Sultan at Nigaha in the Dera Gazi Khan district which, besides containing a tomb of the prominent Muslim saint and his wife, also had in its complex, a shrine to Guru Nanak and a temple to Vishnu.[50] It does not come as a surprise then when we find that Muslim masons worked for the construction of Hindu[51] and Sikh shrines;[52] that Muslim painters painted murals on Hindu,[53] Sikh and even Jain themes,[54] and that Muslim craftsmen carved figures of Hindu gods on wooden lintels of Hindu houses. On the other hand, the Mohammedan tradition of decorating walls of shrines with texts from the holy book was adopted by the Sikhs,[55] and texts from *Guru Granth Sahib* began to appear on the walls of *gurudwaras*[56] as one of the forms of mural arts. The painting of exquisite floral designs, in which Mohammedans had excelled since time immemorial, were adopted by Hindus and Sikhs and became an integral feature of mural decoration on their edifices.

While Muslim painters painted murals in Hindu and Sikh edifices with human figures, in their own buildings they confined themselves to the painting of floral designs. It is only very rarely that they took the liberty of painting birds, animals or human figures on the walls of Mohammedan shrines.[57] We know of the village of Khangah Dogran in Gujranwala district where tombs of Muslim saints were painted with pictures of birds and animals.[58] There is, likewise a painting of camel and a dog on one of the walls of the mausoleum of Lape Shah at Jagraon.[59] Wall-paintings with human figures are also extant in the Mohammedan tomb at Aandlu,[60] a village in district Ludhiana, and in the *Khangah* of Dargahi Shah[61] in village Dhun Dhoewal in district Amritsar. We even hear of a tombstone receiving the attention of a painter. Lt. H. B. Edwardes who saw this in 1847 in the hereditary cemetery of Khyreh and Bhuchur villages, near Multan, recorded thus :[62]

> Rude figures of flowers are scrawled in whitewash over the upright stones, and on one of the more pretensions than the rest was an attempt at Muluk-ool-mout, riding on his ghastly charger, but bearing in his hand a cup of water, a sign that the dead man lived well and died in peace.

But this must be seen really as an altogether uncommon occurrence.

With no taboos of any kind in this regard restricting them, the Hindus had a great deal of painting. On many religious festivals and other social occasions, the Hindus made use of mural art in the form

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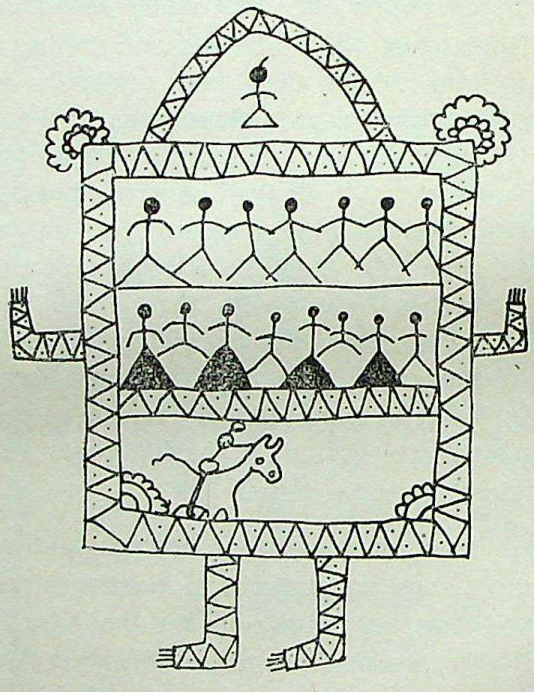
of ceremonial paintings which were different from the wall-paintings executed as permanent works of art. Homes were decorated or marked with hands and other designs each of which originally had a symbolic meaning of its own.[63] In Amritsar and Gujrat, thus, figures of deities were drawn on the occasion of *chath* or house-warming ceremony.[64] This type of ceremonial decoration was popular also in the Eastern Punjab[65] and is still in vogue in many villages.[66] Similarly the painted or carved image of Ganesha, to be seen in countless Hindu shops, received worship before they commenced their business in the morning.[67] It was customary to have a figure of Ganesha painted above most of the Hindu doorways.[68] If, as has been observed, it was the chief ambition of the Hindus in the 19th century Punjab to build a brick house[69] of their own, the lime-plastered walls of their houses provided an ideal ground for mural work.

Wall-paintings also appeared all over the country-side in the Punjab and Haryana on *samadhs* and *mazars* of holy men,[70] in India "the process of deification (being) aided by the tendency to develop the tomb raised over a man of eminence into a temple."[71] *Samadhs* of common ancestors or traditionally venerated elders were everywhere. Villagers who migrated from their original places would periodically make long pilgrimages to worship at the shrine of their ancestors, and if the distance was too great, would bring a brick from the original shrine and use it in the foundation of a local new shrine.[72] It was not the Sikhs and Hindus alone who frequented such places: the Muslims had their own places of worship in this category. Pilgrims came to these cenotaphs in order to beg for a boon or to express their gratitude for a wish granted.[73] The *mahants* of these *samadhs* did their best to keep the appearance of these shrines in order to attract and impress the masses on festive occasions. Thus wall-paintings and similar embellishments were pressed into service to create an aura of sanctity and glory. In the paintings the virtuous deeds of the departed saint were often depicted.

Besides small shrines of limited influence, there were also in the Punjab large monasteries that belonged to important sects. Each sect, old or new, felt



2. A drawing of a 'Ceremonial Painting' from Haryana.

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the need for having its own temples. We know of several sizeable Vaishnava establishments in the Punjab including those at Pindori, Damthal and Dhyanpur. The monasteries that belonged to the Udasi or Nirmala sects were known as *akharas* and many of these had more than one branch.[74] In the absence of any centralizing system governing these *akharas*, the *mahants* of individual *akharas* were their own masters, and vied with each other for turning their establishments as sumptuous as their means or taste allowed. In the process murals were extensively commissioned.

An occasion on which wall-paintings were always seen by large multitudes was the much-loved *mela* or fair. Hundreds of religious places, big and small, belonging to the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims had their *melas* to which people flocked by the thousand, often coming from miles around. They came to pay respect to the shrine around which a *mela* was often held to enjoy an inexpensive yet delightful day's outing. Under the Sikh regime some fairs were sponsored by the Government itself.[75] The fairs used to be full of crowds and entertainment. There was wrestling, sword-play,[76] tricks of acrobats and tumblers, performances of conjurors and the music of *dhadis* singing the tales of Hir Ranjha, Mirza Sahiban or Laila Majnu.[77] The shrine, being the pivot of the fair, was the centre of attraction. Anybody who attended the fair paid respect at it and was naturally delighted to see its walls painted with murals displaying not only religious themes but a panoramic view of the fair itself.

The shrine was refurbished from time to time in preparation for the great gathering. Portions of the paintings that had been peeled off the walls were renovated[78] and seriously damaged murals were sometimes painted afresh.[79]

A considerable amount of patronage of painting, in the form of commissioning of murals, came from the nobility in 19th century Punjab.[80] Under the Sikh regime it was the courtiers and nobles who were also big landlords or *jagirdars* that constituted the uppermost stratum of the society. Many of the Sikhs among them had had their origin in the Sikh *misals* of the 18th century, but most of the new aristocracy consisted of self-made men who had risen through their ability from 'the proletariat'.[81] They did not have any great aristocratic traditions, but their interest in themselves and in surrounding themselves with style appears to have been keen.[82] It was their interest in surrounding themselves with style which led Hari Singh Nalwa, the Bedis of Uma, the Attariwalas, the Sandhanwalias[83] and other *sardars* and *jagirdars* to commission frescoes.[84] Every *sardar* of any pretension lived in a feudal state in some sort of stronghold and, more often than not, they had portals, chambers, private villas and loggia embellished with murals.[85] Their generally good economic conditions allowed them to employ masons for years together in the construction of their mansions in brick and lime and to commission muralists to adorn the walls. These murals for them were symbols of social status.

In the hierarchy, next to the courtiers, nobles and *jagirdars*, came the *zamindars* or agriculturalists. Except for the main entrance door, that led into the *deorhi* and its adjacent *baithak* or 'sitting room' which were mostly built in brick and lime, the rest of their houses consisted generally of mud walls for reasons of economy.[86] But the portions built in brick and lime were often adorned with frescoes, the greatest attention being given to the embellishments of the gateway[87] — the portions flanking the wooden door and the vaulted structure above it. Embellishment in the form of carving in the old tradition[88] was extended to the wooden doors, particularly to the lintels which were often profusely carved with the figures of god and tutelary deities.

The modest living quarters of the peasants in the Punjab and Haryana also received their share of adornment.[89] While murals on brick walls in better houses were painted on fine lime plaster by professional painters and treated of a variety of subjects including the 'portraits' of the Gurus, heroes of Sikh history and Hindu mythology, the murals on mud walls were painted on plaster composed of clay[90] and cow-dung and the subjects were confined generally to decorative designs, and animal and bird motifs.[91] These decorative designs were painted mostly by women-folk, not by professionals. At

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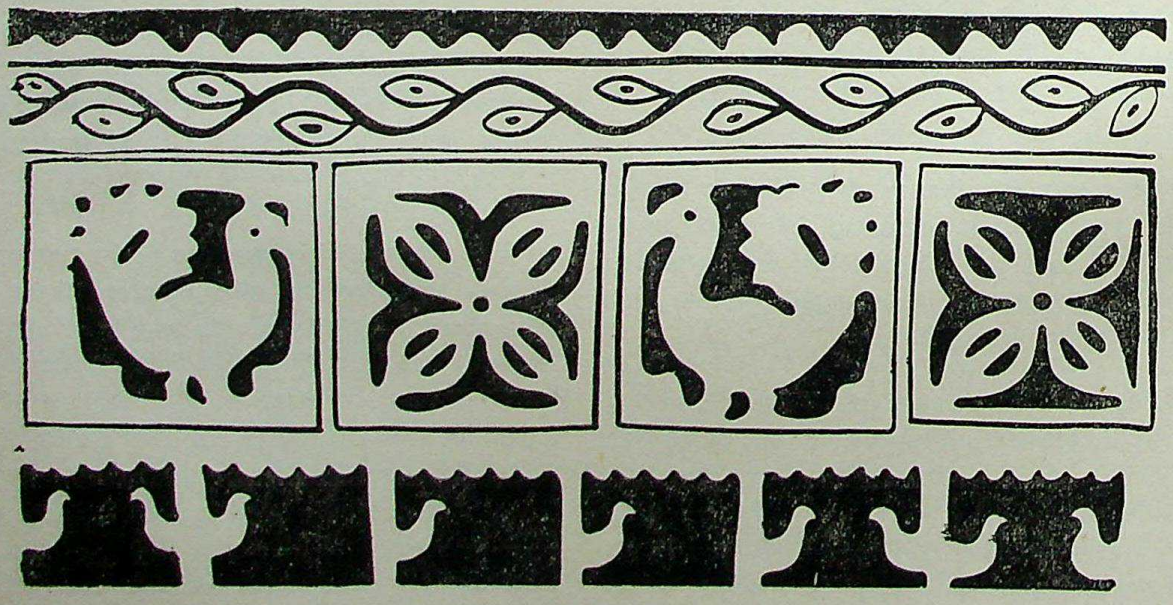
many places in the Punjab, this tradition still survives[92] and one can see work done in villages around Tarn Taran, Mudki, Faridkot, Sangrur and Nabha where women paint designs to celebrate occasions like child-birth and Diwali.[93] Similarly in the areas comprising the present state of Haryana, Sanji figure was drawn by Jat women on walls during Navaratras, before the Dushera festival.[94] One gets some idea of this kind of early work from the following observation of an Englishman who visited around 1920s a house in Mullanpur, a village in Ludhiana district : [95]

3. Sikh Gurus. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Akhara Bala Nand, Amritsar.



4. A specimen of folk design as applied to wall-decoration in Punjab and Haryana..

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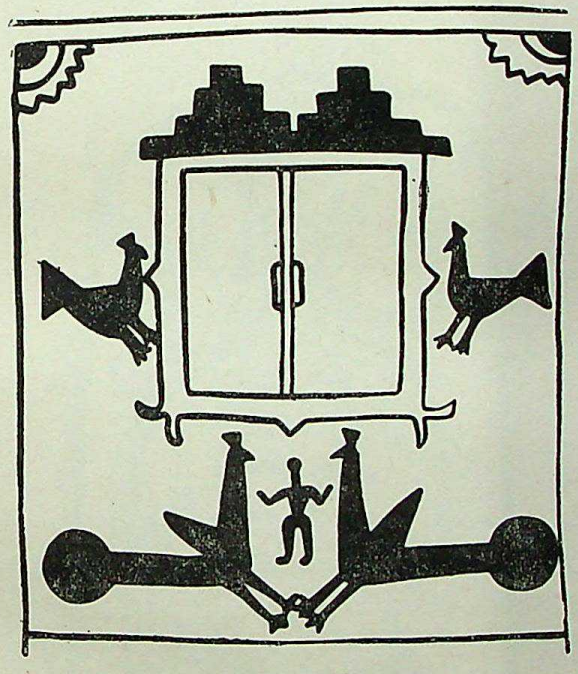
> I entered the house through a large double door made of wood. I found myself in a large square room with mud walls, earthen bare floor and a lofty roof... The walls inside were quite smooth, and had the appearance of having been distempered. They were adorned with quaint black and white pictures painted on the wall itself. These represented local animals and birds; I noticed a dog, deer, and two parrots.

It appears that wall-painting was seen as a desirable embellishment to their houses also by the class of merchants and traders.[96] Many Marwari traders who were invited by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to encourage trade and commerce in the Punjab, got their houses painted with murals.[97] The followers of the Jain faith, many of whom were traders, had means enough to finance the erection of splendid temples.[98] It is quite remarkable that several 19th century Jain temples that I came across in the Punjab, bore traces of originally having been embellished with mural paintings.[99] The houses of many well-to-do Hindus, built in brick and lime, were likewise decorated with mural paintings. At Ambala Lt. William Barr records seeing houses of the richer 'baboos' plastered with fine *chunam* and decorated with paintings of various devices.[100]



5. A specimen of bird motifs on grain storages called Kothis or Kothas in Punjab and Haryana.

Members of artisan groups like *tarkhans* and *sunars* (carpenters and goldsmiths), coming from a relatively low class, and rarely living in houses built in brick and lime, retained an interest in embellishing the walls through 'rustic ornamentation',[101] suitably applied to the architectural features of their small houses. Bird and animal motifs were most prominent. Many times these were formed on the mud walls also in bas-relief and then coloured in different shades. Grain storage spaces called *kothis* or *kothas*,[102] generally built into a wall, received prominent attention, for their beauty was held as a matter of pride by the family and won them praise from the neighbourhood. Apart from bird and animal motifs, *kothas* and *kothis* were bedecked with geometrical and abstract designs and decorative devices like trefoils.[103]

With their loss of political power and dominance in the 19th century, in the Punjab, the Muslims did

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not build any grand monuments. The few edifices they erected during this period were but shadows of the former grandeur of Mohammedan buildings. The old *kashi* or glazed tile decoration, being expensive and laborious, were generally replaced by a comparatively inexpensive and simple medium like tempera. However, the Muslim painters' great hereditary skill in designing ornamentation seems to have remained alive.

Large public monuments and individual houses apart, we have some interesting evidence on murals got painted on 'community' structures in villages. The village community being divided into groups on the basis of kinship, families with a common ancestor usually formed one group or *patti*.[104] It was usual for the different *pattis* to have separate gates built out of common funds, and leading to their dwellings, even as they served for the protection of the wards at night and during emergencies. It is on these gates that the pictorial interest of the village spent itself. In villages where different *pattis* did not have separate gates, a single main gate entrance served for the whole village. We have a description of these gates by R. E. Parry :[105]

> All villages have gates,[106] generally one for each 'hissa', or ward. These gates made of roughly turned timber, are of immense height and breadth; supporting them in a massive rectangular archway of mud and brick, with a cross-beam made from a single tree trunk. Sometimes this is decorated with crude painted figures of animals. All these figures represent scenes from the life of the Gurus, national games, and from the battle field. Wrestling scenes depicting combats between struggling 'kursti-log' (wrestlers) stripped to the waist, are great favourites, then come lines of warriors dressed in old fashioned uniform, carrying muskets.

The different *pattis* also built their own *dharmsala, gurudwara* or *thakurdwara* and drinking wells in the larger villages; this being done out of joint funds in small villages. The *dharmsala* or the guest-house was generally situated near the main gate of the village and was an important structure. On the occasion of the marriage of a girl from the village,

6. A specimen of folk-painting from a village gate in Punjab.

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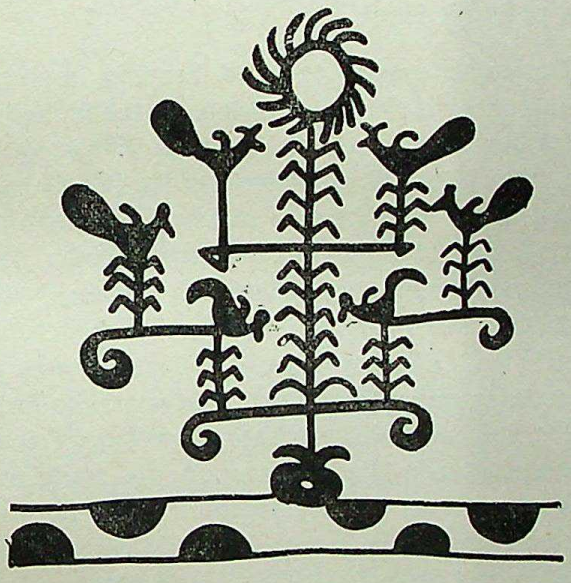
it was the place where the bridegroom's party coming from outside stayed for three or four days. The *dharmsala* was also used as the common room of the village where people met in the evening and on days like *ekadashi* or *amavasya*[107] when village folk were free from their field work. Village *panchayats* held meetings on its premises. Generally parties itinerant performing[108] held their shows in front of the *dharmsala*. Because of its role in the social life of the villagers, thus, the *dharmsala* was usually built in solid masonry, with proper rooms and doors and was frequently embellished with frescoes[109] in bright colours[110] to make it a 'show-piece' of the village. In the districts of Haryana, i.e., beyond Malwa,[111] a *dharmsala* was called *chopal* or *paras* and used to be the centre of attraction in the village due to its mural adornments.[112]



7. A specimen of decorative embellishment from a chopal in Haryana.

The *gurudwara*, the *thakurdwara*, the *samadh* of the founder-ancestor of the village, instituted by the village out of community funds, were thus embellished with murals[113] with a purpose. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand's observation in this context is relevant here :[114]

> ...there is certain relevance in emphasising the role which wall paintings had always played in the protected though broken tradition of art in our country...religion demanded a community life, which in its turn could be sustained with the sharing of inner values projected on the walls by every devotee, whether he could appreciate the aesthetic content (which was seldom) or was impressed by bigness, the glory and the power of the shrine. At any rate a few people could afford to buy pictures for their houses, the walls satisfied a common need.

With regard to the relevance of themes chosen for being depicted in wall-painting, many of the edifices bear out the observation that "the intent of the patron of the 19th century Punjab was quite often simply the enrichment of an interior".[115] Usually, the owner of the building, or the patron, was not actively concerned with the selection of the themes. The purpose behind these paintings was decorative as in the case of wall-paintings in the Pahari region.[116] But it is also interesting that edifices that displayed the most

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diverse assortment of themes usually were public buildings like gates, *dharm salas* and *chopal*s. It appears that the diversity of themes on these buildings was due primarily to their joint serving the whole village or community. The 'democratic' nature of these buildings might have led influential men of the village or the community to assert themselves on occasions in the matter of selection of the themes. A curious mixture thus of dissimilar themes, religious, secular and genre, was the consequence.

But this surely was not the case with private buildings which also often had wall-paintings with heterogeneous themes. That the painter was most often allowed to choose themes of his own accord is evident from non-religious themes painted on the walls even of temples and *gurudwaras* built by individuals. In such cases, the painter seems to have picked subjects that he was most at home with, irrespective of their appropriateness to the edifice. Secular themes in religious edifices clearly served a decorative function. Many *raj-mistries* who were skilled in the dual art of masonry and mural painting,[117] and whom we shall treat of later also, executed murals on themes of their own choice, not always relevant to the building they were engaged in constructing.

Occasionally, however, edifices both religious and secular, were painted with themes consistent with the nature and the spirit of the structure. This happened when there was care and concern on the part of the proprietor or the patron. The 19th century wall-paintings in the Bhandari Temple at Batala, thus, treat of themes selected exclusively from given Hindu episodes. Similary, Jain temples at Sadhaura and Zira have no themes other than those related to Jainism on their walls. The majority of pictures that embellished the shooting box of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Gujrat were, quite appropriately, of sporting feats.[118] Sometimes portions of walls were purposely marked out for separate themes in order to maintain some order.[119]

The whole subject of themes is indeed of considerable interest. When it came to private dwellings, even to royal chambers, the individual circumstances received obvious attention. In the mansions of the members of the uppermost strata of society, we hear of subjects concerned with the important events in their lives. The walls of the royal palace at Lahore were thus painted with, among others, pictures portraying important events in the life of the royal house such as the interview of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with Lord William Bentinck at Ropar.[120] A scene depicting the battle of Jamrud, where Hari Singh Nalwa laid down his life, was painted in the fort of the said *sardar* at Gujranwala,[121] apparently to commemorate his great valour. On the walls of General Ventura and Allard's house at Anarkali, Lahore, was portrayed the reception of these two French officers at the court of Ranjit Singh.[122]

Themes also were selected keeping in view the personal interest and disposition of the individuals. A chamber in Hari Singh Nalwa's villa at Gujranwala, 'that belonged exclusively to the fair daughters of the Eve', had thus a number of glazed wall paintings of erotic interest.[123] Avitabile, who had a 'gargantuan' appetite for wine and women,[124] decorated the walls of his bedroom with pictures of nudes[125] and dancing girls.[126] That he was also interested in poetry or at least had nostalgia for it is evident from French and Latin inscriptions that he got inscribed over the doorway of his residence.[127] There was, also, entirely appropriately, a portrait of Napoleon among the frescoes[128] in his living quarters. When we see Raja Sahib Dyal[129] depicted standing before Vishnu with folded hands, it is a fair indication of his religious disposition. A painted panel showing a lady holding a plate inscribed with a Persian distich of the celebrated Sheikh Saadi, still to be seen on a wall of the house of Shri Kundan Lal Suniara at Dasuya, reflects, perhaps quite clearly, the taste of the patron. The painter took his direction from the patron in these cases.

Among the motifs, as distinguished from themes, there was also great variety. But possibly it was the peacock that was the greatest favourite. We see it painted on the walls of all types of buildings[130] from a grand palace[131] to a simple mud hut. The immense popularity of the peacock as a decorative motif was partly due, undoubtedly, to the elegance and beauty of its form but also partly to its being held sacred as a bird by many.[132]

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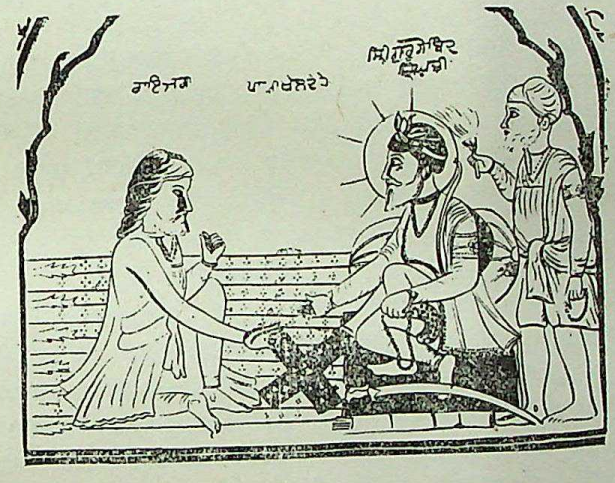

8. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Gurudwara Guru Sar, Bargarhi, district Faridkot. It depicts Guru Gobind Singh playing passa with Rai Jagga, the chief of Kot-Kapura.

In different regions of the Punjab, the choice of themes was often influenced by social, religious and political factors, for understandable reasons. Thus, themes related to the Sikh Gurus were most popular in Majha, Doaba and Malwa, the region being the stronghold of the Sikhs; beyond Malwa, towards the south-east, murals on themes related to the Sikh Gurus must have been seldom painted.[133] Likewise, pictures representing Guga Pir were mostly to be seen beyond Ambala[134] in 'Bangar'[135] area where this deity is widely held in reverence. Again, it was natural for themes related to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his nobles to be most prevalent within the territories of Sikh kingdom : these held lesser appeal in the Cis-Sutlej states, which was beyond the direct sphere of his control.

While, as we have briefly seen, there was a great deal of painting in the Punjab in the 19th century, with the annexation of Punjab by the British in 1849, the situation began to alter rapidly. By the end of the 19th century mural painting which had developed such a strong tradition of its own succumbed to the new social changes. In Lahore, we find industry of 'Decorators and Mural Painters' being noticed as practically dead by the end of the century.[136] This development was part of a much larger change which was overtaking India.[137] The Punjab experienced its own full measure of this 'transition' in the second half of the 19th century.

With the fall of Sikh monarchy, the artists who had gathered round the Sikh Court began to find new patrons. What had happened earlier with the fall of the Rajput Chiefs in the hills, was now being repeated with the fall of the Sikhs at the hands of the British. Part of this process has been well described : [138]

> The decline not only in the fortunes of royal family but also of the entire nobility of the Lahore Court was so sharp that the environment changed completely, affecting artist and patron alike. In the altered circumstances it must have become impossible for the new patron to continue maintaining either the artist or the interest in art, for we are able clearly to discern a two-directional movement

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of the artists after about A.D. 1850. Some of them went back to the hills and sought once more the patronage of the Chiefs who still held some *jagirs* even if they were shadows of their former selves ... The second movement of the artists was in the direction of states or rulers who had till then not been concerned with painting.

With the coming of the British, many traditions that had grown at the Court of Lahore, came to an end. The custom of taking sketches of visitors by the artists attached to the court[139] was naturally given up, for there was no court at Lahore. No monuments were raised by royal order[140] and embellished with murals. British officers, who superseded the Sikh nobility, coming as they did from a different cultural milieu, had very little liking for things Indian. To them traditional Indian painting, miniature as well as mural, was at best quaint. They could not have seen any reason for encouraging it.[141]

This discouragement or lack of interest apart, the establishment of British influence at all levels— political, social, cultural — inevitably led to changes in the art wherever it survived. Western influence had already started appearing with the coming of European travellers and adventurists to the Punjab during the period of the Sikh monarchy. While western modes of seeing and western appearances by themselves were an indirect effect, even at that time, there was the direct influence in the form of the work of European artists which began to appear prominently. To the Punjab came amateur,[142] as well as professional painters[143] and their work being generally held in esteem even by the Maharaja, and especially his successor, Sher Singh,[144] must have had impact upon 'native' painters who had the opportunity of seeing these Europeans making sketches and drawings

Technique apart, the themes of paintings also began to undergo a change. We come across paintings depicting the Sikhs and the British at war,[145] the Sikh surrender before the British, natives attending the judicial courts of the new system and the like. The railway train became a popular decorative motif soon after the railway came to the Punjab. We see panels of paintings with *'sahibs* and *mems'*, people riding in a phaeton, armies marshalling.

On their part, the kind of art the British wanted to encourage in the Punjab was very different from that practised by the painters of the tradition. When the system of education in the Punjab began to be organized by them, attention eventually came to be paid to "fine" and "industrial" art. In 1875-76 the Mayo School of Art was founded at Lahore[146] with the clear intention of imparting training to Indians in art as the British understood it, and encouraging them to use their native talent[147] in designing for new ends.

The Britishers, but for a few exceptions, could never appreciate the indigenous artistic expression, nor they tried to understand it in the context of the culture integral to it. Prior to Mayo School of Arts' becoming instrumental in imparting instruction to Punjabi artists and artisans, on the lines that bore but scant relation to the indigenous tradition and culture, the Britishers had been thinking in terms of bringing about a great change in the art of the province.[148] They had considered the native painter "deficient in a knowledge of all those refinements of the art, which" were "to be acquired by taste being rightly directed...."[149] The art produced at the school is not our concern in this study, for there was no mural work done under its aegis, but it is interesting to see that the founders of the new School of Art in Lahore, and of similar schools in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, were pleased with their efforts. When the 'Committee representing Local Governments and the Schools of Art' observed : that "a very real danger to Indian Art lies in the facile imitation of European designs and European methods"[150], it was perhaps not expressing a popular view. In general European elements encroached upon Indian talent and the "Indian artist, as he had formerly existed, was superseded."[151]

With time the outlook of the painters, *raj-mistris*[152] or masons, also underwent a change. Those among them who were now being trained in engineering and building science taught at engineering institutions, had neither knowledge of nor sympathy with indigenous forms.[153] The traditional *raj-mistris* still possessed considerable skills. J. L.

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Kipling,[154] Principal of the Mayo School of Art, however described them and their changed situation well : [155]

> The best men of the class are singularly modest, and only too much inclined to self depreciation when their work is compared with that of European origin; and true artists capable of really beautiful design, will sometimes humbly apologise for it as a poor 'country' effort and look with admiration on a neatly ruled and coloured mechanical drawing by an engineering apprentice.

The change that overcame Indian architecture in the wake of the new European architecture in India[156] in itself changed the very context of mural painting. It appeared as if in the newer buildings the old traditional art had no place. The well-to-do class of Indians who had earlier got their houses painted with frescoes, now began to copy British buildings,[157] and these were ill suited totally for the older type of mural embellishment. In many old houses murals were obliterated from the walls. New coats of whitewash claimed much that was old. In the changed setting framed paintings, whether on paper or cloth, fitted much better. The story of new themes and attempted techniques in Indian painting, called for the sake of convenience 'Company Painting', has been told well by Mrs. Mildred Archer and others. These 'Ethnological pictures,'[158] were painted at all kinds of places. To the range of mythological pictures painted at Lahore, Kapurthala and Kangra[159] etc. were added new themes of castes, trades, professions etc. These pictures became so popular that they started being sold in the fairs[160] and festivals. No such development was possible in mural work.

The introduction of the printing press[161] had naturally its own impact. Rude lithographs, and woodcuts of gods and guardian deities produced by the commercial presses and displayed in large sizes, began to replace costly mural work. There is not much point discussing the relative merits of these productions and traditional mural work. It is sufficient here to note the fact.

The one source of patronage that might have survived because of its traditional conservative character was the religious houses. But even here changes were drastic. Many of the endowed establishments lost a great deal of property and thus resources. For example, the *dharmarth jagir* of *akhara* Santokh Das at Amritsar was curtailed from Rs. 107,700 per annum to Rs. 9,800 per annum.[162] Some of the *mahants* of these *deras* became involved in the struggle of survival and had little interest left in keeping their places properly embellished. When we see Muslim *dargah,* like the one of Baba Jumle Shah Pir Purania at Darvesh in district Kapurthala, which made an attempt to retain its sumptuous look, we find that was done through adornment with delft plates. These plates bore the stamp : "Lewis Stewart & Co., Calcutta".

One can see that much had changed.

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Rerferences

1. *See* Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, I, p. 3.
2. Also spoken of as 'Manjha'.
3. *Khada Pita lahe da,*
   Baki Ahmad Shahe da.
4. *See* G. L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 139.
5. D.C. Ibbetson, *Report on the Census of the Punjab, 1881*, I, p. 2.
6. *See* P.N. Khera, "Social Life in the Sikh Kingdom" *J.P.U.H.S.*, V, April 1938, p. 19.
7. *Adventures of an officer*, I, p. 85.
8. Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 48.
9. Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 108.
10. Radhakamal Mukerjee, *The Social Function of Art*, p. 176.
11. O.C. Gangoli, "The Sikh School of Painting", *Indian Art Souvenir*, p. 6.
12. *Amritsar D.G. 1892-93*, p. 113.
13. *See* Ruchi Ram Sahni, *Struggle for Freedom in Sikh Shrines*, p. 9.
14. *See* O.C. Gangoli, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
15. *See* Harnam Singh, *Punjab, the Homeland of the Sikhs*, p. 33.
16. *See* J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 385 ; Chopra, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127.
17. For instance, the painting of a mural in three niches in the name of Nika (child) Bilasa Singh and Mai (elderly woman) Piari at Akal Takhat, Amritsar, was provided for by Hari Singh, as is evident from the inscription on one of the paintings of these niches. This practice is still prevalent at the *gurudwara* of Baba Bakala in Amritsar district.
18. G.V. Plekhanov, *Art and Social Life*, p. 184.
19. Niharranjan Ray, *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Society*, p. 167.
20. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, II, p. 95.
21. Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 112.
22. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
23. *See* Inder Paul Singh, "Caste in a Sikh Village", *Sikhism and Indian Society*, p. 84 ; *also see* Mrs. J.C. Murray Aynsley, *Our Visit to Hindostan, Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 248.
24. Sant Singh Sekhon, "Is there a Sikh Culture ?", *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Oct., 1971, p. 25.
25. *See* Nahar Singh Grewal (ed.), *Historical Survey of Amritsar*, p. 51.
26. *See* Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid, "Shri Taran Taran de puratan Samachar", *Phulwari* (P), No. 6-7, April-May 1933, p. 585.
27. *See* Inder Paul Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
28. *See Punjab Govt. Records*, III, pp. 319, 331.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 43, 44, 46, 49-50 ; *also see* Kanwarjit Kang, "Holi in 19th Century Punjab", *The Sunday Tribune*, March 6, 1977, p. 5.
30. *See Punjab Govt. Records*, III, p. 457.
31. *See* Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 304, Appendix IV.
32. Though the Sikh Gurus condemned image-worship, they were not against representational art.
33. One is reminded here of the modification wrought by social forces in the religious outlook of the disciples of the Buddha which resulted in the appearance of Buddha's image in art ; *see* Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Ancient India*, p. 236.
34. *See* H.A. Rose (ed.), *Tribes and Castes of Punjab*, I, p. 284, wherein it is stated that *Shivala* of Ek Onkar in district Karnal was built at the expense of Maharaja Ranjit Singh ; *also see Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Panjab and its Dependencies*, pp. 4-5 wherein it is stated that *Shivala* Misr Vir Bhan at Amritsar was built by Sardar Desa Singh.
35. *See Punjab Govt. Records*, III, p. 12.
36. *See Gurdaspur D.G. 1883-84*, p. 98, wherein it is stated that Diwan Nanak Bakhsh offered a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the building of *gurudwara* at Dera Baba Nanak.
37. The priests of Mansa Devi Temple near Mani Majra, now in the Union Territory of Chandigarh, were Sikhs. *See* Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 137.
38. *See* Khushwant Singh, "Guru Nanak in Janam Sakhi Paintings", *The Times of India Annual 1971*, p. 56.
39. For example, a beautiful wood-carved lintel of 19th century at the entrance of the house of Shri Som Nath at Bagarian on the Malerkotla-Nabha Road, depicts Guru Gobind Singh on horseback in its extreme left panel while the rest of the panels depict Hindu gods. *Also see* Kanwarjit Kang, "Wood-carving in Punjab and Haryana", *The Sunday Tribune*, May 1, 1977, p. 5.

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40. Cf. "Painting, contrary to the popular idea, is not forbidden by any passage of the *Kuran*, and the hostility to it only took proper theological form towards the end of the 8th century A.D."— *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 612.
41. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.
42. *See* W. Crooke, *The North-Western Provinces of India*, p. 234; cf. Sir Monier Williams, *Modern India and Indians*, pp. 164-65.
43. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 112 "In 'The Eastern Plains' of the Punjab, the change of faith from Hinduism to Mohammedanism was usually confined to one or two members of a brotherhood and it was common to find one branch of a joint village community Musalmans and the other Hindus"; *see* Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 142.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
45. *See* Jafar Sharif, *Islam in India*, p. 140; Crooke, *The North-Western Provinces of India*, p. 252; Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 111, 116.
46. *See* Sant Singh Sekhon, *loc. cit.*, p. 25.
47. *See Punjab Govt. Records*, III, p. 393.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 8; Mohan Lal, *Travels in the Punjab*, pp. 17-18; *also see* M. S. Randhawa (ed.), *Punjab* (P), pp. 204-205.
49. *See* N. K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 187.
50. Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115.
51. For example, two Muslim masons, Shera and Nikal worked for the construction of *Nanu Ka Mandir* at Bhadaur, in Sangrur district. The names of these masons are written on one of the walls of the said temple.
52. *See* Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Sri Amritsar* (P), pp. 50-51, wherein Mistri Mohammed Yar Khan is stated to have been entrusted with the work of gilding with gold the domes of Golden Temple, Amritsar.
53. *See* V. P. S. Rao, "A Golden Chapter from Cis-Sutlej History", *The Sunday Tribune*, Feb. 21, 1971, p. 5; wherein the author states that the murals in Chowdhry Chandersen's *Diwankhana* at Dadri were painted by a Muslim painter Vazeer Khan.
54. Shri Satpal Jain, who was inverviewed at Zira, told me that the murals in the Jain temple of Zira were painted by Nazar Mohammed.
55. *See* Khan Abdul Majid Khan, "The Impact of Islam on Sikhism", *Sikhism and Indian Society*, p. 227.
56. As is evident from the interior walls of the Golden Temple, Amritsar.
57. Kanwarjit Kang, "Figural Paintings on Mohammedan Tombs", *The Sunday Tribune*, April 10, 1977, p. 5.
58. *See* R. W. Trafford, "Pictures on Musalman Tombs", *Indian Antiquary*, XXVII, May 1898, p. 140.
59. *See Gazetteer of India—Punjab, Ludhiana*, p. 658 and plate facing p. 658.
60. *See* Kanwarjit Kang "Figural Paintings on Mohammedan Tombs", *The Sunday Tribune*, April 10, 1977, p. 5.
61. Architecturally this *Khangah* appears to have been constructed in the 17th or the early 18th century.
62. *Punjab Govt. Records*, V, p. 30.
63. *See* Rose (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, p. 914.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 913.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 913-915.
66. *See* Oscar Lewis, *Village Life in Northern India*, pp. 172, 215-16, 221-22, 224-25; *also see* Kanwarjit Kang, "Ritualistic Decoration in Haryana", *Haryana Review*, X, August 1974, No. 8, pp. 26-27.
67. *See* W.J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, p. 52.
68. *See Panjab Notes and Queries*, I, May 1884, No. 8, p. 87.
69. *See* Ibbetson, *op. cit*, I, p. 102.
70. For instance, the temple of Kalu Nath at Nathana in district Bhatinda. Ramana sub-cast of the Jat Sikhs owe its allegiance to this place. *See* Bal Mukand Dass, *Janam Sakhi Kalu Nath* (P), pp. 176-232.
71. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 182.
72. *See* Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115.
73. "Even the Muhammadens", writes Cunningham, "whose imagination must not be assisted by any visible similitude, is prone to invest the dead with the powers of intercessors, and to make pilgrimages to the graves of departed mortals...." *See op. cit.*, p. 10.
74. For instance, the *akhara* of Bala Nand at Amritsar was initially a branch of an *akhara* at Jhelum. I came to know of it from Shri Chander Prashad, the present *mahant* of the said *akhara*, interviewed at Amritsar.
75. *See Punjab Govt. Records*, III, p. 344.
76. *See* Roshan Lal Ahuja, *The Story of Ranjit Singh*, p. 69.
77. *See* J.C. Oman, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India*, p. 214.
78. These well-intended efforts often led to clumsy restoration of the original work. One sees this in the 'renovation' accorded to the murals of Baba Atal at Amritsar.
79. Even in recent years attempts have been made to paint afresh damaged murals. For instance, in a *thakurdwara* at Phul in district Bhatinda, enamel paints have been used to daub parts of the structure, with unhappy results. In Ambala City, the new paintings in the Jain Shvetambar temple, are relatively pleasant.
80. *See* B.N. Goswamy, *Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents, pp. 6-12.*
81. *The Maharaja Ranjit Singh Centenary Volume*, p. 30 (*see* the Presidential address given by Sir Shafoat Ahmad Khan).
82. *See* B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of

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Some Aspects of Patronage", *Oriental Art*, XV, No. I, p. 46.

83 *See* B.N. Goswamy, *Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents*, p. 11.

84. *See* Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikh*, II, p. 324.

85. The account of Lt. William Barr affords striking proof of this; *see* his *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawur and from thence to Cabul*, pp. 69-71, 77-80, 82, 100-102, 129-140, 147, 252.

86. There was a sharp contrast in the dwellings of the upper and the lower strata of society in 19th century Punjab. Rising to the highest station, there were the dwelling of the rich and the honoured of the land, large and imposing, built of brick, and with the top terraced to allow the morning and evening promenade and the fine lime plastered walls often painted with frescoes. Coming to the lowest station, there were the dwelling of the poor labourer, small in dimensions, made of mud and thatch and clay plastered walls, occasionally limned with decorative designs and folk-motifs.

87. *See Jullundur D. G. 1915*, p. 127.

88. Elaborately carved wooden doorways and window frames had been an artistic feature of the architecture of Punjab since long. *See* R. E. M. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, p. 77, plate No. XVI-A; Kanwarjit Kang, "Wood-carving in Punjab and Haryana", *The Sunday Tribune*, May 1, 1977, p. 5.

89. *See* Mulk Raj Anand, "Specimens of Paintings under the Sikhs", *Marg*, X, No. 2, p. 39.

90. The muralists had achieved perfection in making fine plaster from clay that appeared like lime plaster. The beautiful murals in the old *haveli* of Sandhanwalia Sardars of Raja Sansi were painted on walls plastered with the said medium.

91. The *Mazhabis* or *Ramdasias* who belonged to the lowest strata of the society in the 19th century Punjab lived in the simplest possible huts, and yet they endeavoured to bring grace and colour into an otherwise drab life by enlivening rough walls of their huts with some simple decorations.

92. *See* Kanwarjit Kang, "Wall Decorations of Punjab and Haryana Peasantry", *The Sunday Tribune*, Feb. 13, 1977, p. 5.

93. Cf. Ram Dhamija, *Image India*, np.

94. *See* Jasleen Dhamija, *Indian Folk Arts and Crafts*, p. 93.

95. R. E. Parry, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, p. 55.

96. *See* K. C. Aryan, "Some Punjabi Artists", *Roopa-Lekha*, XXXIX, No. I, 34; *Jullundur D. G. 1904*, p. 50; *Ferozepur D. G. 1915*, p. 127.

97. Aryan, *loc. cit.*, p. 33; also for instance *'Haveli Nauhrian'* in *Gali* Seth Baldev Dass in Ferozepur City. In local parlance Marwaris were known as *Nauhrias*.

98. Crooke, *North-Western Provinces of India*, p. 235.

99. Thus the temples at Sadhaura, Ambala City, Zira and Ferozepur Cantonment.

100. *Journal*, p. 28.

101. *See* Kanwarjit Kang, "Wall Decorations of Punjab and Haryana Peasantry", *The Sunday Tribune*, Feb. 13, 1977, p. 5.

102. *Ibid.*

103. *See Punjab Notes and Queries*, II, No. 13, pp. 11-12. Ears of corn were also tied in beautiful designs and hung on the ceiling.

104. In the south-eastern districts of the present state of Haryana, these groups were called as *pannas*.

105. *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

106. The towns too had lofty gateways, usually on all the cardinal sides, covered with paintings of all descriptions. *See* Lt. Barr, *Journal*, p. 141.

107. It was a social usage not to yoke cattle for any purpose either on *ekadashi* or on *amavasya*. *Ekadashi* comes twice in a lunar month, each on the eleventh date from the new moon and full moon. *Amavasya* is the date of new moon ; *see* Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222.

108. It comprised of a group of singers, musicians, dancers, bards, conjurors and actors, that moved from village to village to entertain village-folk with their performances. *Nakal* or *ras* were what they often performed.

109. *See Jullundur D.G. 1904*, p. 50.

110. *See* Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.

111. Particularly in the districts of Rohtak, Sonipat and Gurgaon.

112. *See Rohtak D.G. 1883-84*, p. 47, Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 22, fig. 8.

113. Not only *dharmsalas, gurudwaras, thakurdwaras* or *samadhs* but also parapets of wells were sometimes decorated. I came across at Thanesar, in the course of my field work, a well with murals on its parapet. The well was within the premises of the temple of Kali, situated in the north-west of the city. *Also see* J.M. Douie, "Guru Guga as a snake-God", *Indian Antiquary*, XXVI, March 1887, p. 84.

114. "The World of Colour", *Marg*, XVII, No. 3, p. 3.

115. Karuna Goswamy, "Frescoes in the Shish Mahal at Patiala", *Roopa-Lekha*, XXXVII, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 122.

116. *See* Mulk Raj Anand "Some Notes on the Composition of Pahari Murals", *Marg*, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 8.

117. Most of the artisans in the 19th century Punjab did all the jobs allied to their trade; *see* Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 376.

118. *See* Lt. Barr, *Journal*, p. 147.

119. In the murals in *'Gurudwara* Pothi-Mala' at Guru Har Sahai, in district Ferozepur, the themes based on the

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lives of the Sikh Gurus, the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and some romantic tales are thus painted in separate panels.

120. *See* Lt. Barr, *Journal*, p. 100.

121. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-33.

122. *See* Baron Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab*, pp. 283-84.

123. *See* Lt. Barr, *Journal*, pp. 137-38; *also see* B. N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting : An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patroange", *Oriental Art*, XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 48.

124. *See* Khushwant Singh, "Feringhees of the Punjab", *The Times of India Annual, 1968*, p. 59.

125. *Ibid.*; cf. Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 145.

126. *See* Joseph Wolff, *Travels and Adventures*, II, p. 61, Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 125.

127. *See* J. J. Cotton, "General Avitabile", *Calcutta Review*, CCXLVI, Oct. 1906, p. 576.

128. *Ibid.*

129. This painting is extant on one of the walls of a temple at Kishan Kot, near Batala. The temple was got erected by Raja Sahib Dyal himself.

130. James Coley, who happened to visit Amritsar about the middle of the 19th century, observed the houses painted all over in various themes; among which the sacred peacock predominated : *see* his *Journal of the Sutlej Campaign of 1845-46*, p. 107.

131. *See* J. Ph. Vogel, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", *J.P.H.S.*, No. I, 1911, p. 47.

132. *See* Devinder N. Dass, *Sketches of Hindu Life*, p. 80; Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 374.

133. I came across only a few murals on the themes related to Sikh Gurus beyond Ladwa and Thanesar.

134. *See* Douie, *loc. cit.*, p. 84.

135. Area around Kaithal.

136. *See Lahore D.G. 1916*, p. 154.

137. *See* R.C. Majumdar (General ed.), *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part II, p. 1.

138. B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting : An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", *Oriental Art*, XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 47.

139. *See* Capt. Leopold Von Orlich, *Travels in India, including Sind and the Punjab*, I, p. 206.

140. *See* Emily Eden, *Up the Country*, II, p. 9.

141. It may be recorded here that on the Indian side also, several factors discouraging the survival of mural painting were operating, too. Thus the tension that developed in the early 20th century between the Sikhs and Hindus, as embodied in the aggressive movements like the Singh Sabha and the Arya Samaj, led at a time, to the wilful destruction of mural panels.

142. For instance, Emily Eden.

143. For instance, August Theodor Schoefft ; *also see* Kanwarjit Kang "An Austrian Painter at the Sikh Court", *Indian Express* (Chandigarh edition), August 8, 1977, p. 2.

144. *See* J.M. Honigberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, pp. 171-172.

145. For instance, in the apartment adjoining the temple at Ram Tatwali in district Hoshiarpur.

146. *See* H.R. Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab (1846-84)*, p. 57.

147. *See* D.C. Khosla, *Lahore, Guide and Directory*, p. 29; A.M. Nash, *Progress of Education in India 1887-88 to 1891-92*, p. 268.

148. *See* B.H. Baden-Powell, *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, II, p. 355.

149. C.R. Francis, *Sketches of Native life in India*, pp. 26-27.

150. Quoted from the official paper dated 3rd Jan., 1884, of considerably modified Government scheme for the encouragement of the Industrial Arts of India, attached in the form of a published note in *J.I.A.* No. I, Jan. 1884.

151. W.G. Archer, *India and Modern Art*, p. 18.

152. Often a *raj-mistri* also served as a muralist; *see* Chapter V—"Painters and Patrons".

153. J. L. Kipling, "Indian Architecture of Today", *J.I.A.*, No. 3, July 1884, p. 2.

154. From 1875 to 1893 he was principal of Mayo School of Art and Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore; *see* Mildred Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library*, II, p. 618.

155. "Indian Architecture of Today" *J. I. A.*, No. 3, July 1884, p. 1.

156. Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India—1780-1850*, p. 164.

157. *See* R.C. Temple, "A Study of Modern Indian Architecture, as displayed in a British Cantonment', *J.I.A.*, No. 8, Oct., 1885, p. 60.

158. *See* J. L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab", *J.I.A.*, No. 10, April 1886 (Supplement) ; T.N. Mukharji, *Art Manufactures of India*, p. 19.

159. *Ibid.*

160. *See* J.C. Oman, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.

161. An American Presbyterian Mission established the first press in the Punjab at Ludhiana before 1840. A lithographic press was set up at Lahore in January 1848 ; *see Punjab Govt. Records*, III, pp. 403, 407.

162. *See* Giani Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-67.

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Chapter II

Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings

In this chapter are listed, district by district, the various buildings and monuments where wall-paintings in Punjab and Haryana, or their traces still survive. All of these places were visited and photographed by me during my field work and only a very small number of these have been noticed or documented before.

While my interest was focussed on work done in the 19th century, I was also looking for anything that might go back further in point of time. In this I had very limited luck.

About wall paintings in ancient Punjab we have no evidence that has survived, only some speculation. Percy Brown spoke[1] of the possibility of their being some kind of mural decoration on the Indus Valley edifices. Charles Fabri thought[2] that mural paintings might originally have decorated the walls of houses in ancient Punjab, although nothing has survived. "More carefully conducted excavations in future" he felt, "may well reveal such mural decorations."[3]

In the Muslim period, notwithstanding the fact that Muslim Sultans generally discouraged figurative painting is known but there are some intriguing references to work done at this time. We hear of a large mural portrait of Iltutmish[4], for instance, done in Delhi. In the *Futuhat-i-Feruz-Shahi*, Feroz Tughlaq writes about his having ordered the effacement of pictures and portraits which were painted on the doors and walls of his palace.[5] These were to be replaced by garden scenery to be painted instead.[6]

With the coming of the Mughals in power, the art of painting, including mural painting, received decided patronage, and we have literary references to fresco work in the Punjab, although unfortunately no survivals. The Emperor Jahangir took, as we know, personal interest in mural paintings also and has a note on them in his memoirs[7]: "A picture gallery in the garden had been ordered to be repaired; it was now adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of Humayun and of my father opposite to my own, and that of my brother Shah Abas. After them were the likenesses

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of Mirza Kamran, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Shah Murad and Sultan Daniyal. On the second storey (row ?) were the likeness of the Amirs and special servants."

We also have the contemporary evidence of William Finch who saw frescoes in the Lahore Fort in the early years of the 17th century A.D. :[8] "On the walles is the Kings picture, sitting crosse-legged on a chaire of state; on his right hand Sultan Pervese, Sultan Caroone, and Sultan Timoret, his sonnes; next these Sha Morat (Shah Murad) and Don Sha (Daniyal Shah), two of his brothers (the three baptized before spoken were sonnes of this later): next them Emersee Sheriff (Mirza Sharif), eldest brother to Caun Asom (of whom it is reported his estate to be such that, of one hundred chiefe women which he kept, he never suffred any of their clothing after their first wearing to be ever touched by any stranger, but caused them to bee buried in the ground, there to rot; as also that he always had in service five hundred massalgees (torchbearers : mashalchi), in so much that whensoever he went from court to his house in Agra, which was at least a corse, no man removed foote with his torch but stood all alongst to his house : next this man, Emersee Rostene (Mirza Rustam), late King of Candhar; then Can Canna (which signifieth prince of the Cannes) : then Cuttup Caun (Kutbuddin Khan Koka), Rajaw Manisengo (Raja Man Singh), Caun Asom (Khan Azam), Asoph Caun (Asaf Khan (Jafar Beg)), Sheek Fereed (Shaikh Farid), Kelish Caun (Kilij Khan), and Rajaw Juggonat (Raja Jagannath) (who at his death had seven of his friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his sisters, and a brothers childe). On the left hand of the king stands Rajaw Ramdas (Ram Das), who holds his sword, Cleriff Caun, Caun John, Jemana Lege or Mawbet Caun, Mocrow Bowcan, Rajaw Bossow, Rajaw Ransing, Majo Kesso, and Lala Bersing. Note also that in this gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King over the doore is the picture of our Saviour; opposite on this left-hand, of the Virgin Mary. This devoncan is very pleasantly seated, over-looking the Ravee. From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the west, you enter another small court, where is another open chounter of stone to sit in, covered with rich semianes. From hence you enter into a small gallery, at the end of which, next the river, thorow a small window the King looks forth at his dersanee to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the medow by the river. On the wall of this gallery is drawne the picture of the Acabar sitting in his state, and before him Sha Selim his sonne standing with a hawke on his fist, and by him Sultan Cusseroom, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Coroome, his three sonnes. At the end is a small devoncan where the king useth to sit; behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, alongst the right-hand whereof runneth a small moholl of two stories, each containing eight faire lodgings for several women, with galleries and windowes looking to the river and to the court. All the doors of these chambers are to be fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the gallery where the king useth to sit are drawne overhead many pictures of angels, with pictures of Banian dews, or rather divels, intermixt in most ugly shape with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, ugly pawes, long tailes, with such horrible difformity and deformity that I wonder the poore women are not frighted therewith. Within this court is a pleasant devoncan and lodgings, and the way to another moholl for the King to passe, but non other."

(referring to another chamber in the Lahore Fort)

"In the midst stands a goodly gallery for the King to sit in, with such ugly pictures over-head as before. At the end are drawne many portraitures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flask of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the peally (*piyali*, a small cup); behind, one punkawing (fanning : *pankha*), another holding his sword, another his bow and two or three arrowes etc. Before this gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings and windowes alongst the waters side; at the end of a faire marble jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the river; beneath it a garden of pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings, very sumptuous, the walles and seelings all over-laid with pure gold, and round alongst the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant, are placed faire Venice looking-glasses, three and three, each above other; and below these,

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alongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this mans ancestors, as of Acabar his father, Homowne his grandfather, Babur his great grand-father, who first set foote in India with thirtie of his nobles..."

There were faint traces till not too long ago, of designs and colours in the *rangmahal* built in 1630 by Shah Jahan[9] near Jagadhri in district Ambala. We hear of the little octagonal tomb of Pirbandi Nakashwala built during the Mughal times at Sirhind, being profusely covered with paintings of flowers.[10] Even a Hindu temple erected during the Mughal regime at Sat Sai[11] in district Gurgaon, about the middle of the 17th century, apparently had coloured frescoes.

In this period when a form of mural decoration known as *kashi* or glazed tile decoration[12] was introduced from Persia,[13] frescoes usually accompanied it. It was "frequently used as an adjunct to *kashi* decoration, which as a rule was confined to the exterior",[14] the surfaces protected from the weather being usually painted in fresco.[15]

From the 18th century, again, little has survived, although indications are that there might have been considerable work done despite the political confusion and disorder that this century saw in the Punjab on such a vast scale. The *thakurdwara* of Raghunath Das at Amritsar, built in 1750 A.D.,[16] and now in ruins, apparently had considerable sophisticated work[17] on its walls. At Mari Mustafa in the Faridkot district, a *mari* constructed in 1788 A.D. (A.H. 1203),[18] some 'rough work' is still to be seen, and we notice work in the 18th century temple[19] of Shri Nam Dev at Ghoman in Gurdaspur district.[20]

From the very early years of the 19th century, we hear of "designs of great elegance painted in uncommonly fresh and pleasing colours"[21] in the Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad, 25 miles south of Multan, and built by Muzaffar Khan in 1808.[22] Dr. Vogel's comment on these frescoes is worth quoting :[23]

> It is specially noteworthy how devoid these frescoes are of that gaudiness and harshness which often disfigures mural decoration in India. On their plain white background their delicately-tinged flowers present an air of charming simplicity and resemblance : qualities the more striking in a period of artistic degradation and tasteless ostentation.

At Lahore, the *samadh* of Basti Ram[24] built in 1802 was 'neatly painted'.[25] Elphinstone, while on his way to meet the King of Kabul at Peshawar in 1809, found the high walls of the oblong court painted with figures of cypresses.[26] The temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra, completed in 1815,[27] was profusely adorned with murals. And we have that useful description of fresco paintings in the Lahore Fort by Roopa Krishna.[28]

While it was not possible for me to have access to that part of the Punjab which is now in Pakistan.[29] I travelled extensively in the 'Indian Punjab' including present day Haryana. The quantity of work that I saw and the process through which work like this is constantly being destroyed convinces me that what I was able to record forms a very small proportion of what must have once existed.

Much has disappeared, some but only some due to natural causes. With the collapse of roofs on buildings using wooden beams, wall paintings at a very large number of places were exposed to sun and rain. Where mural panels decorated the outer walls, the process was even quicker especially when the buildings were deserted or fell in ruins. Dampness, saltpetre, vegetation each did their work.

Human agencies have had their own role in this matter. Thus with the demolition of the old building of the *gurudwara* built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1815 A.D. at Khadur Sahib,[30] district Amritsar, all the murals that originally adorned this shrine disappeared. The same had happened earlier to the murals in the old building of *gurudwara* at Panja Sahib[31] built by Hari Singh Nalwa[32] which was torn down in 1932[33] to be replaced by a new shrine.[34] The old *bungas* of Sri Darbar Sahib, many of which have now been demolished, once had mural paintings commemorating events from Sikh history.[35] The newly installed marble or copper slabs, dedicatory in character, covered walls in many a Sikh shrine thus covering frescoes that originally embellished them.[36] But all this is only illustrative of a great deal more that happened in this manner.

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In temples and *gurudwaras* painted walls of passages and narrow circumambulatories were damaged by devotees rubbing against them.[37] Again smoke from incense, burnt as a part of daily worship in Hindu temples and other religious shrines, settled on the walls in a form of a film that has grown darker and darker with the passage of time. The unsightly appearance of these surfaces were often not improved through cleaning this 'patina', but through coats of thick whitewash under which many murals have disappeared[38] for ever. The experience that J. C. French had at Chamba where he found the "frescoes of a temple scraped off and wall white washed only a week before"[39] was also mine on more than one occasion in the plains of the Punjab[40] and Haryana. Little or no care has been taken of work on the walls.[41] On the other hand graphite scratched on painted surfaces are to be seen every where. At other places modifications in the structure, like the installation of electric wires or other fixtures, have been carried out without regard to the work under them.

In the British period, the process of neglect of mural painting is often read about. When the profusely painted house of General Ventura was transferred thus to Sardar Sultan Mohammed Khan[42] and later became the residence of H.M. Lawrence;[43] the feeling with which the owner had got his walls painted underwent clear changes. We read distinctly of many panels of frescoes in the Lahore Fort which were covered with thick layers of whitewash applied by the British[44] when they occupied it.

The British frequently put native religious buildings to military uses and the best of cares was then taken off their original decoration. For instance, a mosque at Panjore which was converted into a military post[45] was left with only faint traces of graceful floral paintings.[46]

What we see in Punjab and Haryana in the form of wall-paintings today, thus, it may be fare to conclude, is only a small part of what must once have been there. The documentation in this study of what is still extant covers a very large number of places and edifices. But it was carried out in the face of several difficulties[47] but for which it might have been more complete than it now is.

In describing what follows, the (arbitrary) pattern I have adopted is to first take up areas with the largest number of extant remains of wall-paintings and then followed it up with areas with comparatively fewer surviving work. The tract traditionally described as Majha has thus been described first, and followed by the Doaba and Malwa regions and then the areas that fall in the present state of Haryana. Within these categories edifices with the best work are treated first, followed by those with relatively less refined and fewer murals. A brief account of architectural features of the relevant edifices is included and an attempt has been made, wherever possible, to record, where known, or to suggest where not known, the date of their construction. Because of the fact that wall-paintings are constantly disappearing,[48] the date of my visit to various places has also been given in the footnotes. This is to indicate that paintings were still to be seen at these places at least on these dates.

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Punjab

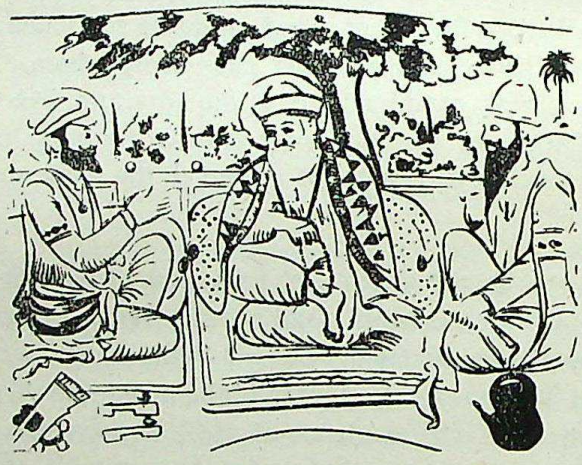
A. THE MAJHA TRACT

I. DISTRICT AMRITSAR

1. *Akhara* Bala Nand.[49]

This *akhara*, one of the many belonging to the Udasi order, is situated in Bazar Mochian in the city of Amritsar, not far from the Golden Temple. It was founded in V.S. 1832 (= 1775 A.D.) by Bala Nand[50] whose name it bears. The oldest structure in this establishment is a double-storeyed *samadh* of Bala Nand. The ground floor is almost entirely white-washed but for the portion flanking the entrance, however where frescoes in a bleached state are still extant. The murals on the upper storey, though still intact, have lost much of their glow under the damaging effect of smoke produced by the incense burnt inside frequently.

The *akhara* appears very imposing from outside mainly due to its triple-storeyed structure of considerable dimensions built in solid masonry and added by *mahant* Bhishambar Prashad in V. S. 1945[51] (= 1888 A.D.). It is in one of the rooms on the second storey of this structure that frescoes of the late 19th century are still extant and in a very good state of preservation but for two panels, damaged by electric wire fittings on a portion of a wall to the right of the entrance door. This room is quite large, being about 20 feet by 18 feet, and every inch of its walls is covered with frescoes based mostly on religious themes. That the room is seldom opened is the reason for the good state of these wall-paintings. The inside of the wall over the great arch of the doorway is also embellished with a large sized mural panel.



9. Guru Nanak Dev. A drawing based on a wall-painting of akhara Bala Nand, Amritsar.

2. The old *Haveli* of the Sandhanwalia Sardars.[52]

The *haveli*, with more than twenty elegant mural panels still intact, was built by the forefathers of Major Harinder Singh Sandhanwalia[53] at Raja Sansi, a town situated a few miles from Amritsar on the

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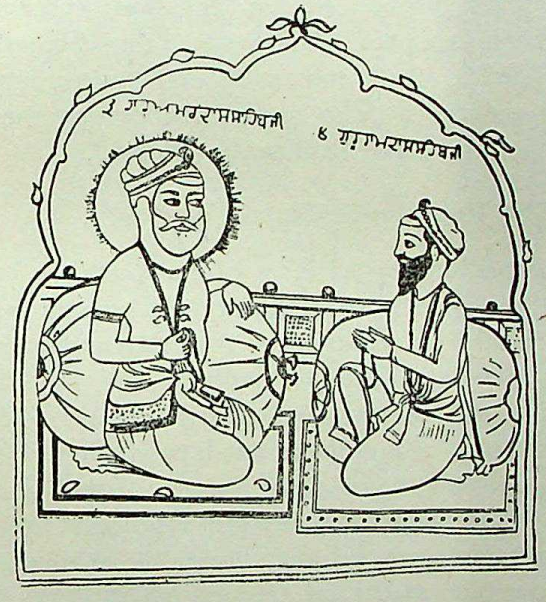

10. Guru Amar Das and Ram Das. A drawing based on a wall-painting of gurudwara of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, district Amritsar.

Amritsar-Dera Baba Nanak road. The *haveli*, however, not been occupied for some decades is now nearly in ruins. The room that bears paintings on its walls is about 18 feet by 14 feet. Since the southern wall was wrecked quite sometime back, the paintings on the other three walls have been exposed to the elements. The beautiful ceiling made of wood, patterned with repetitive motifs, is also likely to disintegrate soon. An adjacent room, used as a small court by this seat of the Sikh nobility in the olden days, has also been adorned with small inset mirror pieces in a variety of designs. The appearance of this room is nowhere near what it must have been once, for it has been used as a chaff-store for years. The court-like function that one of the rooms in this *haveli* served during the pre-annexation time and the repeated depiction of European-style decorative cups with miniature designs of buildings indicate a 19th century date. The murals were very likely painted about the middle of the last century.

3. *Gurudwara* Baba Bir Singh.[54]

This *gurudwara* is situated in Naurangabad near Tarn Taran and was built in the memory of Baba Bir Singh, a Sikh saint[55] of the 19th century. Built of flat, narrow bricks, it stands on a base approximately 20 feet square; the walls reach a height of about 15 feet at which point the base of the dome which tops the building, takes over. Every inch of the interior except the vault of the dome has been painted; there are more than one hundred fresco pannels that are still extant. The state of preservation of these frescoes is excellent. They appear as fresh today as they probably did on the day they were painted. The themes depicted, barring a few birds, are invariably religious and relate both to Hindus and Sikhs. The paintings appear to have been executed sometime in the middle of the 19th century. Baba Bir Singh died in V.S. 1901[56] (= 1844 A.D.) and the shrine was built after his death. The *dharmarth* land it enjoys was, however, conferred on it by the Sikh Kingdom, according to local information.[57]

4. Shri Palkiana Sahib.[58]

This is a Hindu temple located in the north-west of village Jaura on the Tarn Taran-Patti road. The

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temple stands on a rectangular plan surmounted by a *shikhara*. There is a circumambulatory passage around the sanctum. The front part of the passage is wider than other three sides which are too narrow to allow more than one man to go through it at a time. The walls, both of the inner shrine and of the circumambulatory, are embellished with more than fifty beautiful fresco panels executed on glazed lime plaster.[59] According to local tradition, a holy man who used to live there in a hut, was respected by Maharaja Ranjit Singh who was struck by his saintliness while passing by his hut once, and bestowed upon him *dharmarth* land to enable him to erect this temple. A painting here portray Maharaja Ranjit Singh, probably in token of the association of the place with the Maharaja. The themes betray no obvious influence of the post-annexation time. This tends to support the local tradition that the frescoes in this temple were painted while Maharaja Ranjit Singh was still alive.

5. Baba Atal.[60]

Situated in the vicinity of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, this octagonal tower, standing 130 feet high,[61] was built from funds raised by subscription,[62] in honour of the son of Guru Hargobind (1606-1645) whose name it bears. It was erected sometime in the last quarter of the 18th century.[63] Its first and second storey alone were embellished with wall-paintings,[64] although they do not seem to have been executed any earlier than the middle of the 19th century. Michael Edwardes, who has noticed these murals, takes them to be the work of early 19th century[65] but I am inclined to take the later date. For one thing, no reference to Pandit Brij Nath, who appears in one of the paintings depicting Guru Nanak being taught by him, is found in *Janam Sakhis* written before the early 19th century. The calligraphic style of the Gurmukhi script in the inscriptions on these paintings is of the period I am suggesting.[66] The murals of the ground floor have now been covered by marble slabs; on the first floor, however, there still survive forty-two panels of paintings. Some paintings on the walls of the *deorhi* are also extant. Still more paintings can be seen on the front wall of *tosha khana*[67] adjacent to the tower.

6. *Samadh* of Mahant Mangni Ram.[68]

Mahant Mangni Ram was the founder *mahant* of *akhara* Prag Das[69] established in V.S. 1862[70] (= 1805 A.D.) and his *samadh* is located just behind the *akhara* in Katra Ramgarhia in Amritsar. Though the *mahant* died possibly about the middle of the 18th century, his *samadh* appears to be a later construction. The *samadh* stands on a square plan with a door-opening in each wall and is summounted by a big dome. A wide stripe along the top of the wall and the base of the dome is painted with twelve handsome frescoes. The upper portion of the dome is embellished with *ras-lila* scenes. The themes painted are almost all religious. Both the style and the technique of these paintings make them rank among the best surviving murals of 19th century Punjab.

7. Shri Raghunath Temple.[71]

Located in the vicinity of the Durgiana Temple in Amritsar, Shri Raghunath temple was built in A.D. 1750.[72] It was built on the pattern usually seen of temples in the Punjab, without any great architectural pretensions. The main shrine is surrounded by a number of buildings used by the priest of the temple for his domestic purposes. Faint traces of graceful early paintings are still visible on the walls of the temple proper; unfortunately, however, they are too blurred for us to form an accurate idea of their style. Fortunately, adjacent to the temple, a very small apartment upstairs has some portions of the wall-paintings still intact. However, even here, no complete painting survives : what is left is fragmentary. Although the temple was built in 1750 A.D. the date when the murals were painted in it has not been recorded. The distinct and early character, different from those found in the 19th century murals, inclines me to give these an 18th century date.[73]

8. Shri Akal Takhat.[74]

Opposite the gateway leading to the Golden Temple is a building with a gilded dome and kiosks at the corners. This is Shri Akal Takhat, the Immortal Throne, originally constructed by Guru Hargobind[75] (1606-1645). 19th century murals, consisting

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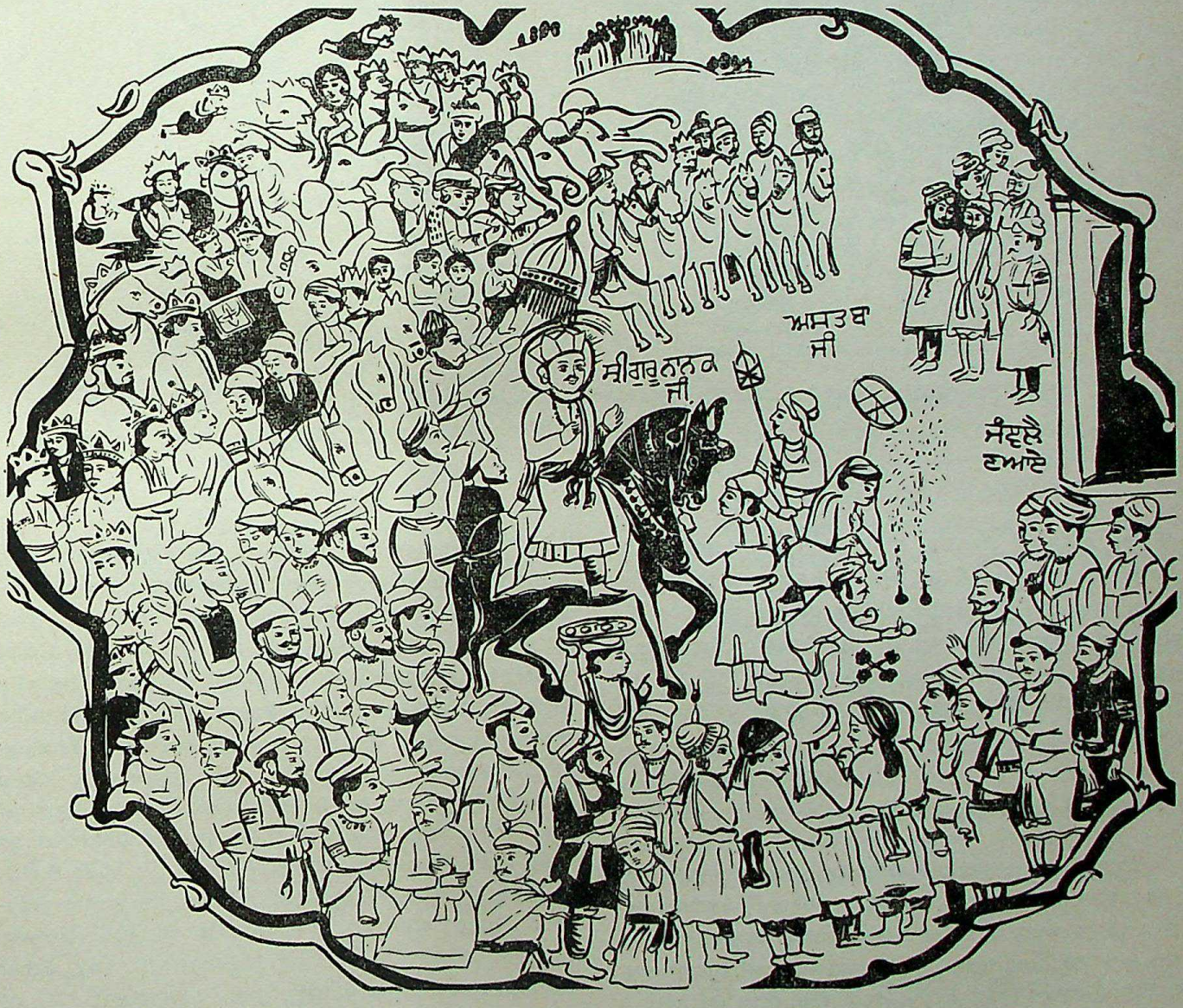

11. The marriage procession of Guru Nanak Dev. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Baba Atal, Amritsar.

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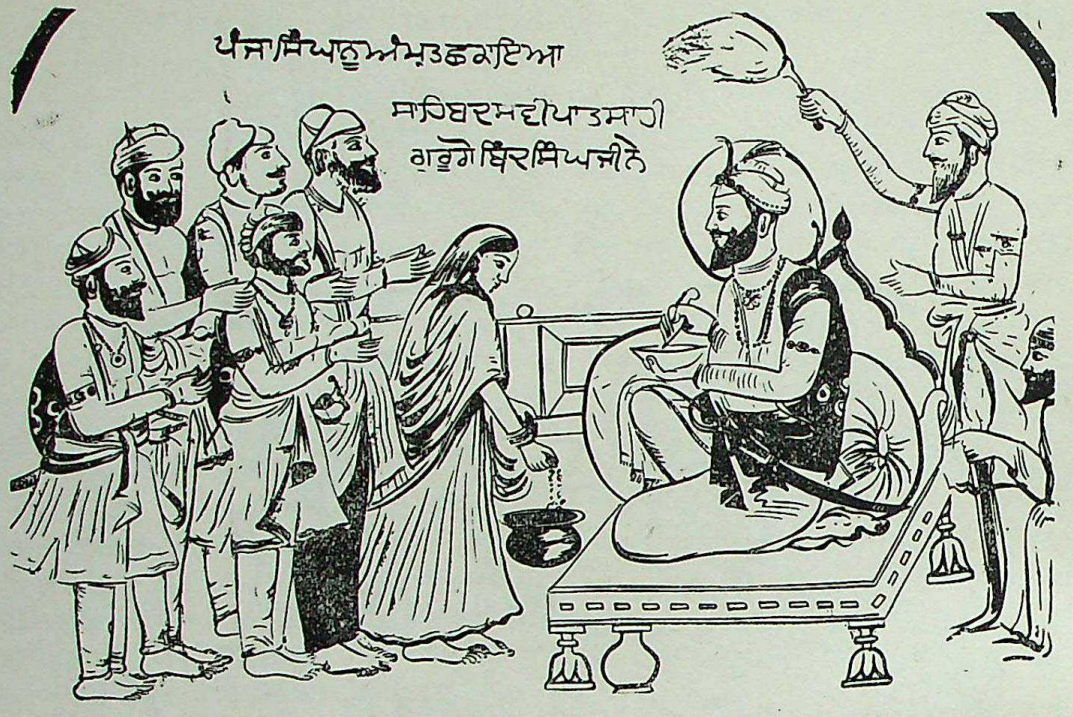

12. Guru Gobind Singh baptizing the Five Beloved Ones'. A drawing based on a wall–painting of Akal Takhat, Amritsar.

of ten painted panels, still survive on one of the walls in its second storey. It appears that these were executed about the middle of the century but the European influence in the dress of the man in control of the two dogs, at the extreme left in one of the paintings, indicates that some paintings might be later than the others.

9. The Golden Temple.[76]

This famous double-storeyed monument, standing on an island some 65 feet square,[77] surrounded by a large tank of water, is located in the heart of the city of Amritsar. The structure of the present building dates from 1764, but the greater part of its decoration was added in the early years of 19th century.[78] Maharaja Ranjit Singh had the principal building repaired in 1802 A.D.[79] and had its dome plated with sheets of gilt copper.[80] This being the principal shrine of the Sikhs, almost every *sardar* of any pretension contributed to its architectural and decorative additions from time to time.[81] That is why it is not easy, except in the case of a few inscribed works[82], to establish chronological order in the numerous decorative features, mural or otherwise, in the Golden Temple. The 'mural paintings' as such consist mostly of very elaborate floral patterns interspersed with animal motifs. The only surviving mural depicting human figures[83] is to be seen on a wall in the narrow northern stairs leading to the top of the shrine. This represents 'Guru Gobind Singh and the Five Beloved Ones'. Most of the work here, mural in character, is believed to have been executed in V.S. 1893[84] (= 1836 A.D.). Writing in 1878, Wakefield[85] referred to erotic frescoes that covered the walls of the Golden Temple. However, in the absence of any other corroborative observation, his statement is of dubious value. Paintings depicting mythological scenes referred to by H. H. Cole[86] have entirely disappeared.

10. *Akhara* Sangal Wala.[87]

Founded in V.S. 1843[88] (= 1786 A.D.) by *mahant* Pritam Das, this *akhara* is situated in the neighbourhood of the Golden Temple, in Katra

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13. Guru Har Rai. A drawing based on a wall-painting of samadh of Baba Khuda Singh at Naurangabad, district Amritsar.

Ahluwalia, Bazar Mai Sewan, Amritsar. One has to go down short flight of steps to reach this *akhara* for it stands lower than general level of the surroundings, like the Golden Temple. The most important edifice in the complex of buildings in this *akhara* is a *baradari* in which is installed an image of the founder mahant 'Nirwan Pritam Das'. The interior of the *baradari* is embellished with inset mirrors and neat floral designs; there is a frieze consisting of sixteen well preserved panels painted with religious Hindu and Sikh themes. Each panel in the frieze takes the form of a rectangle. The *baradari* is said to have been built by *mahant* Pritam Das immediately before his death[89] and seems, therefore, to be the work of the second quarter of 19th century, the *mahant* having died in V.S. 1888[90] (= 1831 A.D.).

11. *Samadh* Baba Khuda Singh.[91]

This three-storeyed octagonal *samadh*, surmounted by a dome is located in Naurangabad, four miles south-east of Tarn Taran, not far from the *gurudwara* of Baba Bir Singh, already described at No. 3 in this chapter. Elegant frescoes of the 19th century, more than a dozen in number, survive on the ground floor of this *smadh*. The walls of the upper storey are without frescoes. Except for a few well painted birds, the themes depicted invariably are drawn from the Sikh faith. Baba Khuda Singh died in Lahore in V.S. 1918[92] (= 1861 A.D.); however, being very close to Baba Bir Singh of Naurangabad,[93] his followers are said to have brought his ashes from Lahore to Naurangabad in order to build a *samadh* over them here. These wall-paintings belong to the second half of the century.

12. Temple Samerian.[94]

This temple stands in Bazar Bikanerian in Amritsar, not far from the Golden Temple. It is not a public temple and stands on private property. One has to cross a well adjoining the bazar to reach the temple. Behind the temple are apartments, used partly for domestic purposes and partly for performing *katha* and *kirtan*. In the temple itself, no mural is extant; however, about a dozen wall-paintings survive on one of the walls of a partly

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covered courtyard. The paintings, clearly the work of a skilled craftsman are fast decaying. Rain-water dripping from the roof, is causing heavy damage to paintings. All paintings are based on Hindu themes. The attempted affect of light and shade in the work is obviously the result of increasing European influence. The murals belong to the second half of the century.

13. The Shivala of Hardhan.[95]

This temple stands in Matewal, a village located on the Amritsar-Mehta road. It was built and dedicated to Shiva by a local merchant of the *bania* caste named Hardhan.[96] An inscription in Punjabi above the entrance records it as having been erected in V.S. 1920[97] (= 1863 A.D.). Standing on a square plinth and surmounted by a *shikhara*, the temple is quite simple in construction. More than twenty panels of murals still survive on the inner walls but are badly damaged. In their original state these must have been works of considerable merit. The paintings illustrate Hindu and Sikh themes and, being small in size, look more like miniatures on the wall instead of murals. The date of the work seems to be close to the date of the construction of the temple.

14. The *Thakurdwara* of Daryana Mall.[98]

Dedicated to Radha and Krishna, this temple stands in Katra Mohar Singh[99] in the inner city of Amritsar. It was built by one Daryana Mal in V.S. 1932[100] (= 1875 A.D.). The temple and the buildings that form the part of the temple complex are well-planned and built. The sanctum itself is on the second storey and the *garbha-griha*, erected on an octagonal plan, stands in a large, square-based room. Handsome frescoes are still to be seen on the walls of this room and exterior walls of *garbha-griha*. However, the frescoes on the lower portions of the walls, being easily accessible to visitors, have suffered considerably. That all the apartments of the temple complex were originally embellished with wall-paintings, is evident from faint remains of frescoes visible everywhere. Paintings in one of the rooms are in a relatively good state of preservation. Frescoes on the exterior walls of a small *shivala*, built in one of the corners of the courtyard, are also still extant. While most of the paintings are based on Hindu themes, frescoes depicting the Sikh Gurus have also been painted. The paintings appear to have been executed close to the date of the temple, 1875 A.D.

15. *Samadh* of Sardar Lal Singh.[101]

To the west of Guru Nanak Dev University campus in Amritsar, are situated four *samadhs* belonging to the *sadars* of Kale Ghanupur, a village located north of Chheharta. The *samadhs*, built on elevated platforms, stand in a row, their doors facing the east. The *samadh* raised over the remains of Sardar Lal Singh, standing on the extreme south, is an imposing structure. It was built in V.S. 1948 (= 1891 A.D.) by Sardar Gulzar Singh,[102] son of Sardar Lal Singh. The paintings on the exterior of one of the walls, flanking the entrance door, have disappeared. The wall-paintings on the inside, however, not less than thirty in number, are extant; their state of preservation is considerably good. Three paintings, each painted in niches in three of the walls are large in size. The rest of the murals are painted in rectangular panels, measuring approximately two and a half feet by four feet. Most of the paintings dipict the Sikh Gurus; a few depict Hindu and genre themes. The murals on the borders of the walls, painted in small rectangular panels, are almost gone, except for two places where figures of an elephant and a horse are still discernible. Besides the *samadh* of Sardar Lal Singh stands a small *samadh* of his wife, Aas Kaur.[103] This was originally embellished with murals but none of the paintings is to be seen now. The remaining two *samadhs*, belonging to Sardar Chattar Singh and Attar Singh,[104] are not embellished with any work.

16. Temple of Maiya Nath.[105]

The temple of Maiya Nath, devoted to Radha and Krishna, stands in a narrow lane in Katra Doolo.[106] in Amritsar. It was built in V.S. 1936[107] (= 1879 A.D.). After crossing a small *deorhi* there comes a *dalan* or courtyard in the ceiling of which there is a wide opening to let in the natural light. In part of the *dalan* stands the *garbha-griha*, leaving a small circumambulatory passage. The remaining part of the *dalan* was originally painted with frescoes; the *garbh-griha* was embellished with

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14. Guru Sangat Sahib Ji. A drawing based on a wall-painting of akhara Beri Wala, Amritsar.

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inlaid mirror-work, let in intricate patterns. The frescoes on the upper portions of the walls of the *dalan* are still extant, although, they have become faded, having lost their original glow under the damaging effect of smoke. It is evident that the work must have been of a high order, once. The themes depicted are all from Hindu subjects. While some of the paintings are in large panels, others have the look of miniatures.[108]

17. *Thakurdwara* Bairagian.[109]

Devoted to Rama, *thakurdwara* Bairagian stands at Attari, near the Wagah border on the Pakistan frontier, district Amritsar. This was built by one of the great-grand disciples of Sant Jagveen Das Bairagi who came to Attari in V.S. 1722[110] (= 1665 A.D.) to this spot where he performed his meditations. The temple proper is built on the second-storey while the ground floor below is used by a priest for domestic purposes. The *garbha-griha* stands on small square with a narrow circumambulatory path around it; on its front is built a *dalan* for the devotees to sit in. While the murals on the upper half of the walls are still in good state of preservation, those on the lower half have suffered seriously at the hands of visitors. All the themes painted are religious in content, and derive from the Hindu faith.

18. *Akhara* Beri Wala.[111]

Akhara Beri Wala is located in Amritsar just behind the *akhara* of Bala Nand described at serial No. 1 of this chapter. All the buildings belonging to it are in a state of neglect and ruin. A *baradari*, built in *pucca* masonry on a platform, is the only surviving edifice. It is said to have been built in the last quarter of the 19th century during the time of *mahant* Seva Das and stands on a rectangular plan running, approximately 25 feet by 16 feet in dimensions. A running broad frieze on the interior of all the four walls of this *baradari* is painted with about thirty rectangular panels ; these however, are in a poor state of preservation. Most of the colours of the paintings have become faded and plaster at several places has peeled off. The practice of getting portions other than the painted frieze, distempered time and again, has spoiled many paintings. Most of the themes dealt with represent the ancestor *mahants* of this *akhara* as well as of other *akharas* of Amritsar[112] and their names are to be seen in Gurmukhi script next to their figures.

19. *Akhara* Kashi Wala.[113]

Located near Sultanwind Gate in Amritsar, *akhara* Kashi Wala was established by *mahant* Udit Narian in V.S. 1852[114] (= 1795 A.D.). 19th century murals are still extant on the walls of a *samadh* and a *dalan* called Darbar Sahib. The *samadh* erected earlier than the *dalan* stands on a square plan surmounted with a dome. It had originally been built over the ashes of the founder *mahant* Udit Narian who died in V.S. 1890[115] (= 1833 A.D.). However, later on, it became a combined *samadh* of all the succeeding *mahants* who died from time to time. The cremation of *mahants* used to take place out of the *akhara* but some of their ashes were brought to be deposited in the *samadh* in order to build a new *mari*[116] resembling a small-shaped kiosk. The wall-paintings in the *samadh* are based entirely on beautiful floral designs interspersed at regular intervals with elegant birds. The murals extant on a wall of the *dalan* called Darbar Sahib pertain solely to religious themes. Hardly a few panels are left intact, the rest of having become a prey to the destructive agencies of time.

20. *Gurudwara* at Cholla Sahib.[117]

This *gurudwara*, honouring the fifth Sikh guru, Shri Arjan Dev (1581-1606), was constructed at Cholla Sahib, a town in Tarn Taran sub-division of district Amritsar, during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh,[118] under the supervision of Sant Sadhu Ram,[119] the then *granthi* of this *gurudwara*. Narrow stairs at the back of the shrine lead to a gallery about four feet in width; the portions of the walls above this gallery are painted with frescoes which are in a fair state of preservation. The paintings are executed in horizontal, rectangular panels only some what larger than the usual miniatures. Most of the paintings depict routine activities of Akali or Nihang Singhs. Adjacent to this *gurudwara* are two *samadhs*, all built of small brick, in honour of Sant Sadhu Ram and Sarwan

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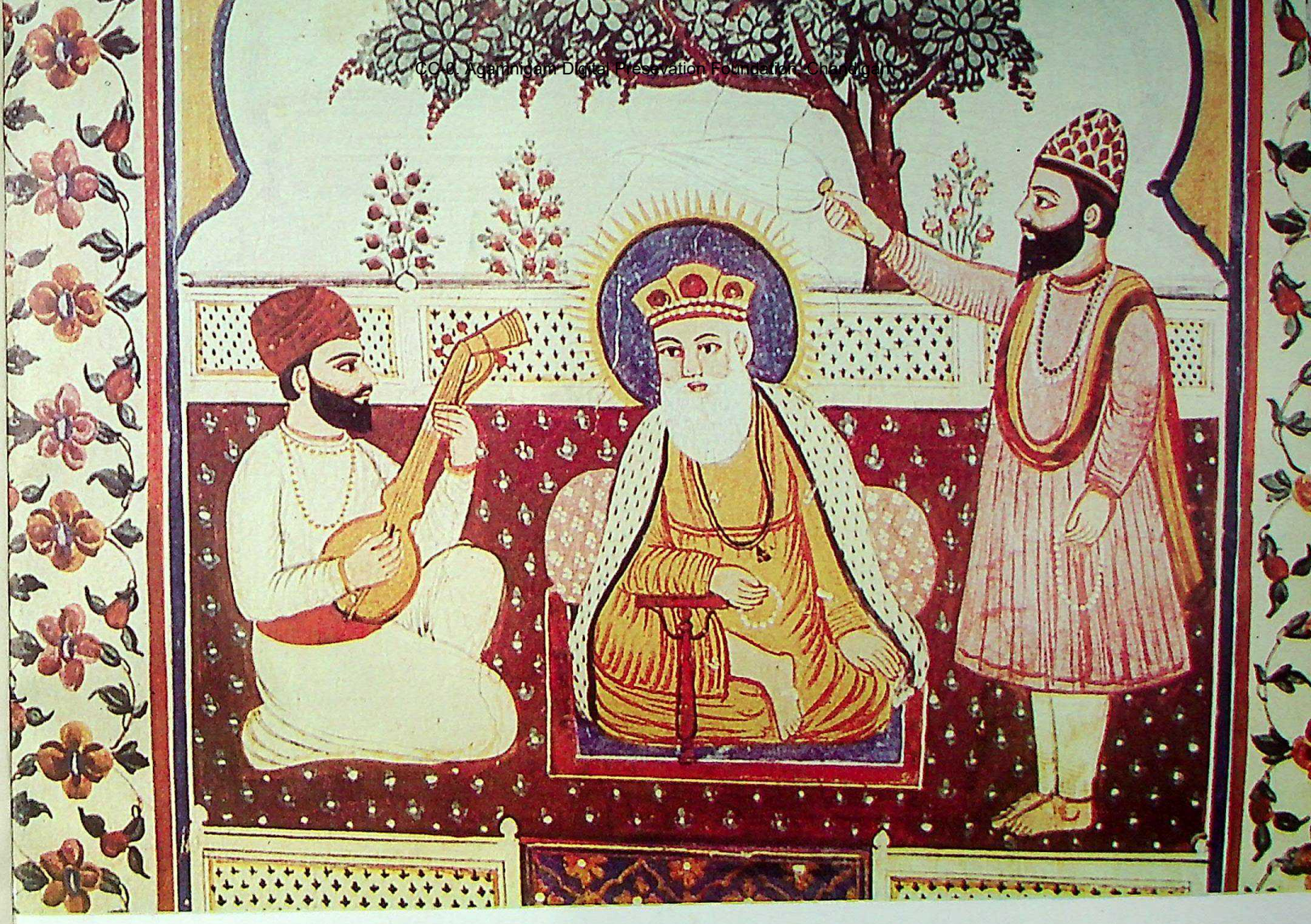

Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

1. *One of the many paintings of Guru Nanak with his companions Bala and Mardana, the former a* **chauri** *bearer and the latter a rebeck player. With a rosary in his right hand, he is seen wearing yellow* **jama**, *sitting cross-legged on a mauve carpet with brown border and resting against light brown patterned bolster. His head, wearing a* **topi**, *is encircled in dark-colour putting the face in relief. The outer ring of this circle takes shape of a nimbus radiating golden rays which symbolises the spirituality of the Guru. 'The tree is intentionally reminiscent of the chhattri (umbrella or parasol) which Lakshman holds over Rama in similar Hindu devotional pictures or which is to be found above the dome of a Buddhist temple.*

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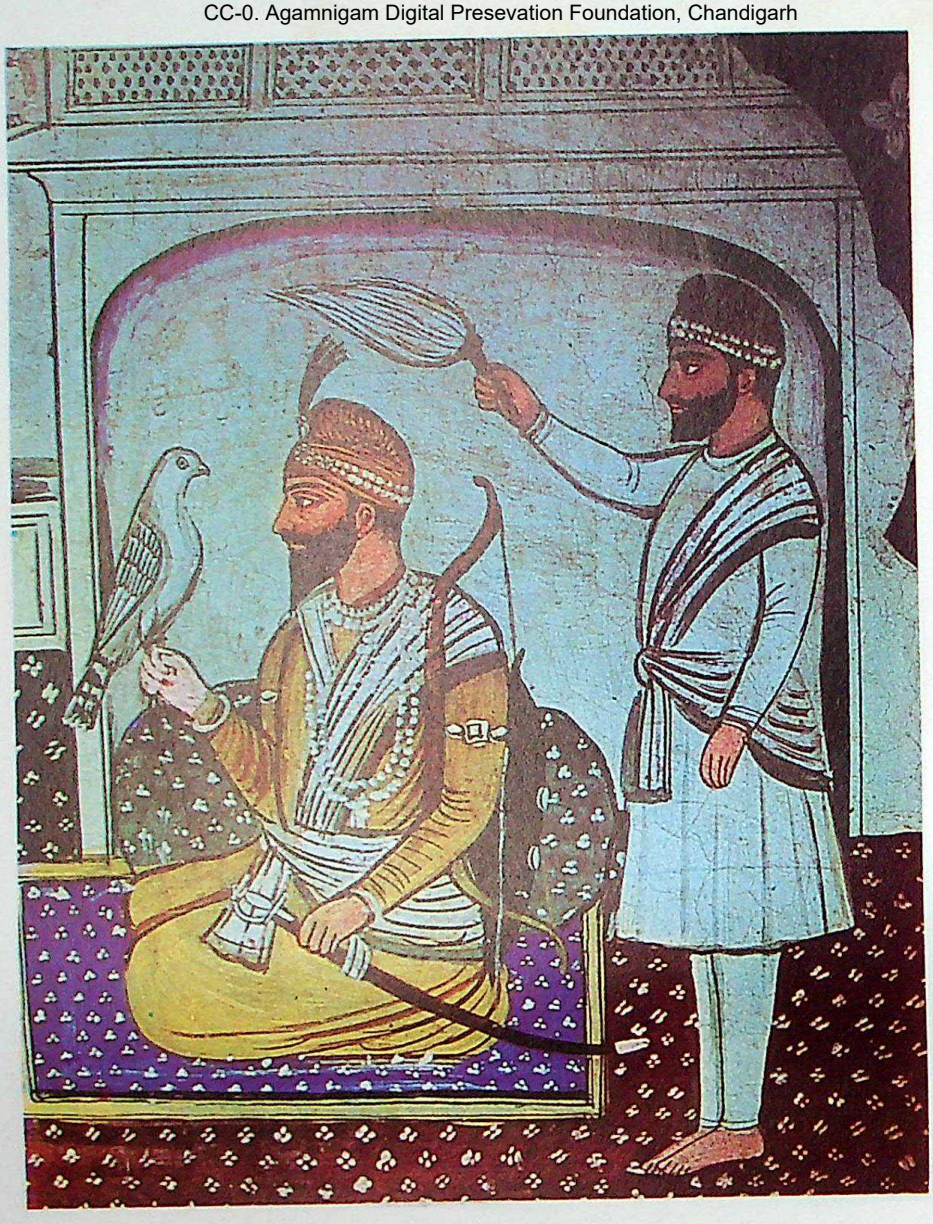

Mural panel from the **samadh** *of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda, district Hoshiarpur.*

II. *Wall-paintings depicting Guru Gobind Singh in sitting posture with an attendant behind, as seen here, were not often painted, riding on horseback with attendants being the most popular motif of his depiction with the muralists. In this panel he is shown seated on a patterned mauve carpet with yellow borders and resting against a grey-brown bolster. He wears a yellow* **jama** *and a white waistband. His yellow-coloured turban is embellished with an aigrette. A falcon perches on his right hand and his left hand claps his sword. A bow is slinging over his shoulder and a shield is slung across his back. The iconographic symbols that identify Guru Gobind Singh, as is seen here, includes a bow, a sword, a shield and a falcon.*

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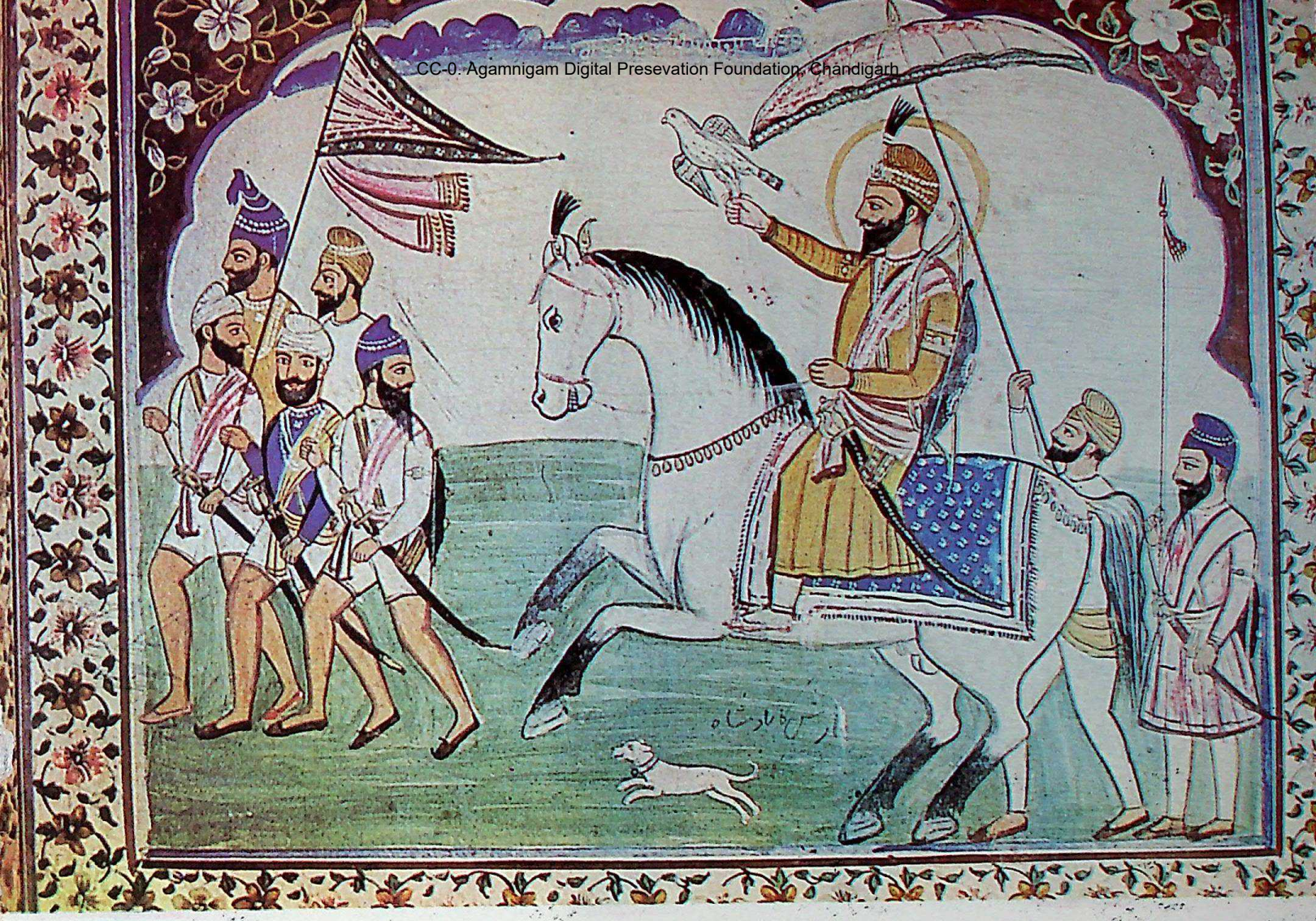

Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

III. *Guru Gobind Singh, nimbate, riding on horseback, holding a falcon and accompanied by a hound. Behind him are two attendants, one holds a state umbrella and the other a lance. Five of his followers, probably the 'Five Beloved Ones' lead him, one of them bearing a pennant on a spear. All the figures, except bearing a pennant on a spear, are in profile and all, except one holding state umbrella, are armed. The Guru is dressed in yellow while the others are dressed in combination including white, mauve and yellow. The land bears a greenish patch, background is pale white with mauve blobs as clouds.*

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Embossed copper panel from the shrine of Baba Atal at Amritsar.

IV. *Same theme as preceded in a slightly different composition, but wrought in bas-relief carried out on gilded copper and affixed on the wall. The characterisation achieved in metal is clear and trim.*

During the 19th century, brass plates embossed with figures recounting Sikh and Hindu themes were affixed on the walls of several religious edifices of Punjab, particularly of Amritsar where most typical and best specimens of the art of embossing on brass thrived in the hands of craftsmen of Kucha Fakirkhana. The best surviving work of this kind is to be seen on the walls of the Golden Temple and the shrine of Baba Atal at Amritsar.

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Part of a mural panel from the **akhara** *of Kashi Wala at Amritsar.*

V. *The genesis of several modern oleographs and popular calendar paintings representing the ten Sikh Gurus in a circular or oval composition, may be traced back to the wall-paintings of the 19th century Punjab. This forms a part of a mural panel that, in its pristine condition, protrayed all the ten Sikh Gurus seated to make an oval composition. Photographed in its present state of survival, it represents the lower part of the painting depicting five Gurus and Bhai Mardana, the reback player. The Gurus portrayed are (clock-wise): Guru Har Rai, Guru Har Kishan, Guru Tegbahadur, Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Hargobind.*

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Close-up view of a mural panel from **akhara** *Kashi Wala at Amritsar.*

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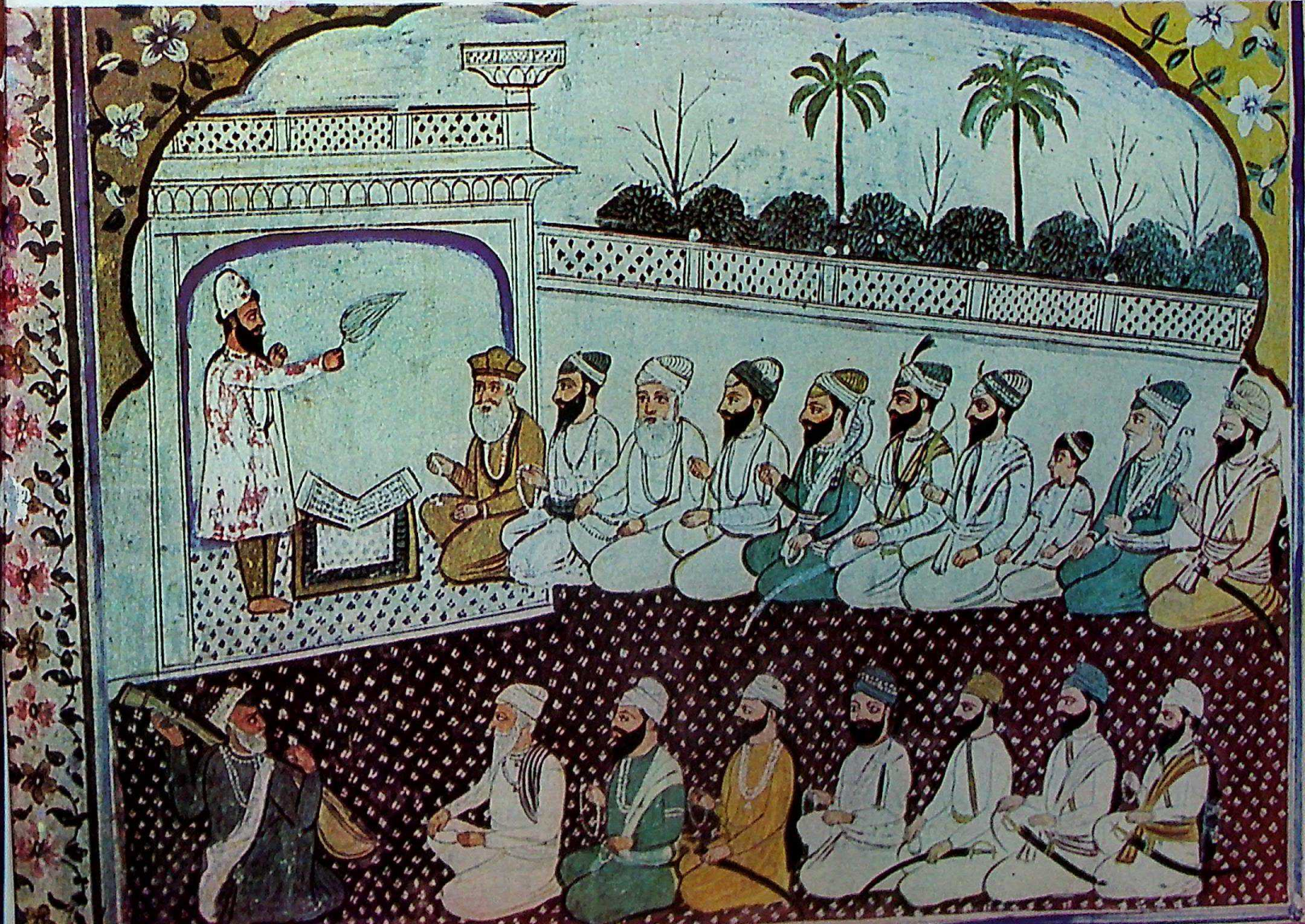
VI. *Close-up view of a part of the painting reproduced on plate No. V. The upper figure is the portrait of Hargobind, the sixth Guru and the lower that of Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru of the Sikhs. To help onlooker identify the figures, the painter have inscribed in Gurmukhi numerals the hierarchical numbers of the lineage of the Gurus near their heads.*

Although the portraits of the Sikh Gurus were based on the traditional accounts, in this panel they smack of Muslim figurative influence. And this is not surprising for we have instances of Muslim painters engaged in embellishing the walls of Hindu, Sikh and even Jain shrines.

VII. *Although the Sikhs 'unitarian form of belief and the ban against image-worship left very little scope for the development of visual arts for needs of religious worship' yet the primitivist need of the folk for images flouted the taboos of faith, and brought about many paintings. This mural, in its upper row of figures, represents all the ten Gurus of the Sikhs seated in a line before the holy* **Guru Granth,** *the Bible of the Sikhs. A standing attendant waves a* **Chauri,** *the yak's tail fly-whisk, over the* **Granth.** *In the lower row, barring Mardana, the rebeck player, all the figures betray identity. Since all of them, except one, hold in their hand a rosary each, they seem to have assembled as devotees.*

Mural panel from the **samadh** *of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda, district Hoshiarpur.*



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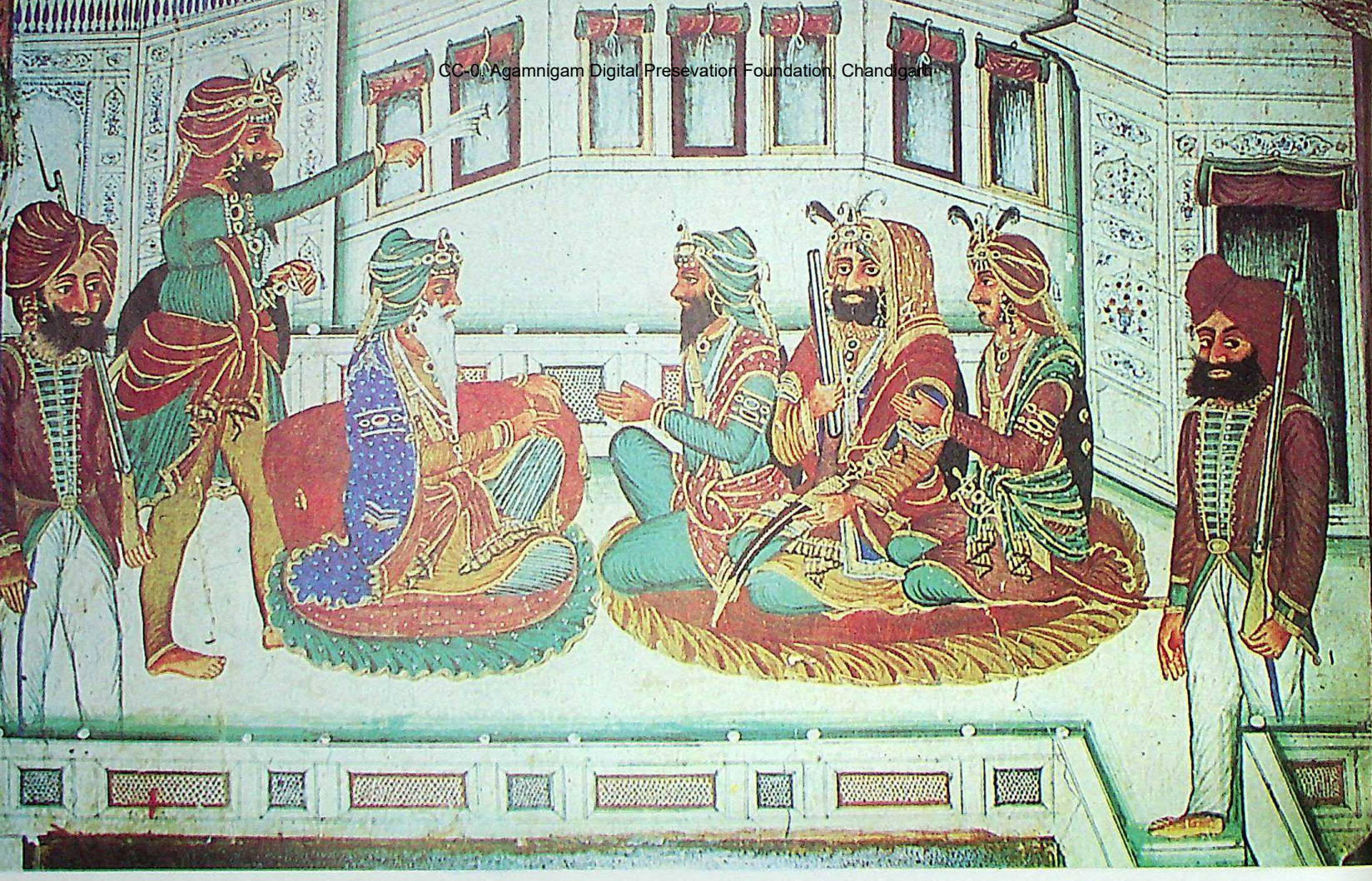

Fresco panel from **akhara** *Bala Nand, Amritsar.*

VIII. *One of the best wall-paintings on the theme of Sikh royalty. It portrays Maharaja Ranjit Singh with his sons : Kharak Singh, Sher Singh and Nau Nihal Singh. The Maharaja, left, sits half kneeling, facing his sons, on a green oval rug. Behind him stands Raja Dhian Singh Dogra, attending upon Ranjit Singh. His three sons sit kneeling on a brownish oval rug : Kharak Singh with folded hands in the front, Sher Singh holding a gun and a sword in the centre and Nau Nihal Singh, again with folded hands, in the rear. Two guards, one on each side, with costumes having braided pipings and polished brass buttons, match the regalia of the Sikh court. The composition is set in a marbled terrace or* **baradari.**

IX. *Close-up view of a mural depicting face of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Unlike in the Italian process of fresco-buono, the colours in the Indian process of fresco painting were united to the plaster, not only chemically, by the action of lime, but also by the mechanical action of beating colours with a trowel into the surface of the 'ground'. The polishing or rubbing-in of colours with a small iron spatula passed over the surface was peculiar to the Indian practice. Thus wall-paintings, if seen at a close range, gave a different visual impression, not neat and clean like that of miniatures executed on paper. But since the murals were meant to be seen from a distance, they seldom appeared unsightly.*

Detail of a mural from the **Samadh** *of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda, district Hoshirpur.*

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15. Guru Gobind Singh on horseback. A drawing based on a wall-painting of a samadh at Fatehabad, district Amritsar.

Das, who were *granthis* in this *gurudwara*. On the inside of these *samadhs* also are wall-paintings although in a dilapidated state.

21. The *Langarkhana* at Cholla Sahib.[120]

This *langarkhana* or community kitchen house is the property of the *gurudwara* described above. However, while the *gurudwara* is located outside the town, the *langarkhana* is built in the heart of Cholla Sahib, at some distance from the shrine. According to local tradition *langarkhana* was established after a *jagir* was conferred on the *gurudwara* by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. All the structures within the premises of *langarkhana* are simple and there is nothing remarkable about them. However, unexpectedly one comes upon a large rectangular *dalan*, built of small brick, with murals adorning one of its long walls. Originally a dining hall, it is now used to store farm-produce etc.; all of which have damaged the murals. The entire length of the wall is divided into two horizontal panels which are further divided into rectangular frames. The rectangles in the upper panel are painted with murals with religious themes and those in the lower panel are painted with *dehins* of various designs in identical compositional set up.

22. The *samadhs* of Sardars Peshaura Singh and Bagh Singh.[121]

These two *samadhs*, built on octagonal plans, stand next to each other in village Manhala Jai Singh,[122] near Patti in the district of Amritsar. Built on an elevated platform, both the *samadhs*, being identical in shape, appear to be the works of the same mason. Peshaura Singh is said to have died in the engagement between the army sent by Hira Singh Dogra and the camp of Bhai Bir Singh in A.D. 1844.[123] Bagh Singh is said to have laid his life down in the famous battle of Sabraon[124] in 1846. Both the *samadhs* thus date back to the middle of the 19th century. The wall-paintings in the *samadhs* of Peshaura Singh are better,both in respect of execution and state of preservation, than those in the *samadh* of Bagh Singh. Niches just below the base of the dome that surmounts the octagonal structure of the *samadhs* are painted with themes that pertain mostly to warfare.

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23. *Gurudwara* Baba Bir Singh.[125]

This *gurudwara*[126] stands to the south-east of Raja Sansi. According to local tradition, it is more than a hundred years old and was built by funds raised through subscription. Standing on a high plinth, it is a well-built edifice. Originally the whole of the interior of the shrine was painted with murals but only some rectangular panels just above the four doors depicting Sikh themes, and floral decoration surrounding them survives ; all else has been covered under layers of whitewash. The murals have been executed in horizontal frames of small size.

24. A *Samadh* at Fatehabad.[127]

Just outside the town of Fatehabad, in the Tarn Taran sub-division of district Amritsar, is a *samadh*, more than a hundred years old, standing on a square base and surmounted with a huge dome. It is to the left of the road that leads from Fatehabad to Goindwal. The name of the person over whose remains this *samadh* was built is not known.[128] It is now used to store chaff and other farm products. Nevertheless, wall-paintings in it have survived destruction because of their being quite high close to the base of the dome. The paintings are few in number and deal both with Sikh and Hindu themes.

25. *Gurudwara* Angitha Sahib.[129]

With the demolishing of the old building of *gurudwara* Angitha Sahib built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1815 A.D.[130] in honour of Guru Angad Dev at Khadur Sahib, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division, all the murals that originally embellished this shrine disappeared.[131] The *deorhi* of the *gurudwara* has survived destruction, and remains of a few wall-paintings can still be seen on the walls of its second-storey. However, being exposed to sun and rain, the wall-paintings are in a dilapidated state. The paintings are executed in frames that are alternately rectangular and squarish, and treat of both the religious and genre themes.

26. *Khangah* Dargahi Shah.[132]

This Mohammedan building stands on the right bank of the river Beas, within the boundary of village Dhun Dhaewal, about four miles east of Cholla Sahib, in the Tarn Taran sub-division. This *khangah* is built over the grave of Dargahi Shah, a reputed saint who, according to local tradition, lived during the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. It is built on a rectangular plan and the walls, after reaching a height of about 9 feet, begin to converge to form a ceiling that is some-what different than a dome. The structure appears to date back to the late 17th century or early 18th. The frescoes on the walls are late and not of any great merit. They appear to have been executed on wet plaster. A variety of themes — romantic tales, games, warring groups, birds, floral designs, — have been treated without being in any visible order.

II. DISTRICT GURDASPUR

27. The Temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari.[133]

Based on a square plan, this imposing temple bearing the name of Kishan Chand Bhandari,[134] in the town of Batala, was erected in V.S. 1909[135] (= 1852 A.D.). The strikingly high *shikhara*[136] of the temple imparts it an impressive air. There is around it a complex of buildings. The shrine proper is built on the second storey and the apartments on the ground floor are used in part by the priest for his domestic purposes and have been converted in part into shops. The entrance to the shrine faces the east and a small portico in front of it is approached by double stairs flanking the entrance. There is a rather wide circumambulatory around the *garbha-griha* standing in the centre of the edifice. Every inch of space on the walls of the circumambulatory and the *garbha-griha* is embellished with frescoes.[137] There are more than a hundred panels depicting themes from Hindu mythology. Four frescoes of large size decorate the outer portions of the walls flanking the entrance. The frescoes inside the temple, mostly being small in size, appear to be faithful imitations of miniatures, but in a technique suitable to wall-painting. The frescoes executed mostly in rectangular frames are in a fairly good state of preservation except for some of the panels that have been affected by electrical wiring etc.

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28. The *Dera* of Baba Lal Ji.[138]

At Dhianpur, situated to the left of the road from Batala to Dera Baba Nanak, there is the well known shrine of Bairagis of the Ramanandi sect. The founder of this shrine was Baba Lal Ji who is said to have lived in the time of Emperor Shah Jahan.[139] The *dera*, comprising of a complex of buildings, is located on a mound of considerable height, overlooking the village of Dhianpur. Two important enclosures in the *dera*, the *'Shish Mahal'* and the *'Gaddi Wala Dalan'* have not less than fifty 19th century paintings extant on their walls. The paintings in the former apartment seem to be of an earlier date than those in the latter. The *'Shish Mahal'* towers over the other structures but, despite its name, has no mirrors in it at all. It is a rectangular room, about 20 feet by 12 feet, having on its walls murals depicting diverse themes, both religious and secular. Being damaged by careless visitors to the shrine, the murals on the lower portions of the walls are in a bad state of preservation. However, the wall-paintings in the *'Gaddi Wala Dalan'*, a rectangular chamber having an enclosed verandah adjoining it, are well-preserved. Of competent workmanship and executed in glazed colours with a high finish, these murals depict Hindu themes. The wooden roof painted with beautiful designs adds to the beauty of this chamber. Here there was a painting depicting Baba Lal Ji and Dara Shikoh engaged in conversation, according to the *Gurdaspur District Gazetteer* of 1914,[140] but it is no more to be seen.

29. Damthal Monastery.[141]

The Vaishnava monastery of Damthal lies four miles to the south-east of Pathankot.[142] It consists of a large complex of buildings including the *thakurdwaras*, small temples and *samadhs*, *langarkhana*, the *mahant's* residence, rooms for students and disciples; all of these stand within an old 'fortress' approached by an imposing gateway. Tradition dates the construction of the architectural complex of the monastery back to Shah Jahan's time and associates it with the rulers of Nurpur.[143] Many of the edifices, however, came into being during the time of *mahant* Gopal Das.[144] There are 19th century frescoes here which must have been works of high merit once; now however these are mostly faded. Most of these are on the walls of the temple known as *Ram Gopal ji ka Thakurdwara*. There is also a chamber here called the *gaddighar*. The painting here consists of eighty five panels, both of vertical and horizontal format, but most of these are rubbed beyond recognition. The themes, such as they can be seen, are, predominantly derived from the lives of Rama and Krishna. There are also here murals of a much later date, executed most probably in the last quarter of the 19th century, in a room above the *thakurdwara*. Executed in tempera, these wall-paintings are inferior to the work done in the main shrine. Here both religious and secular themes occur though without being in any order.

30. Raghunath Temple.[145]

The impressive Raghunath temple stands within the precincts of the famous Vaishnava monastery at Pindori Mahantan,[146] seven miles from Gurdaspur. The monastery, consisting of a large complex of buildings, is housed in a huge walled enclosure approached by an imposing gateway, and is said to have been established by Bhagwanji in 1574 A.D.[147] The Raghunath temple was built some 150 years ago[148] from offerings made by the rulers of Kashmir and the Kangra Hills, and by Maharaja Ranjit Singh,[149] in the period of *mahant* Narotam Dass with whom a great deal of construction activity in the monastery is associated.[150] 19th century frescoes on the walls of the circumambulatory path or *pradakshina* path of this square based temple are still extant; many of these are, however, decaying. The paintings predominantly illustrating Hindu themes[151] have been executed in both rectangular and squarish format and, being small in size, look like miniatures. Despite the ravages of time, the sensitivity of the *kalam* in which these frescoes were rendered still shows through. Traces of late 19th century murals can also be seen on the walls of a building known as *gaddighar* adjoining the Raghunath temple where the occupant of the *Gaddi* appears before his devotees[152] on ceremonial occasions. The wall-paintings here mostly portray genre themes and are relatively poorly executed, the contrast with the work in the circumambulatory of Raghunath temple being sharp.

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31. The Temple of Raja Sahib Dayal.[153]

The temple of Raja Sahib Dayal, devoted to Radha and Krishna, stands in Kishankot, a village near Sri Hargobindpur in district Gurdaspur. Raja Sahib Dayal, the builder of the temple, was the Chief Collector of Customs of the Jullundur area during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.[154] Here, after crossing a *deorhi*, one enters a courtyard that leads to the door of the temple built on a square plan having a circumambulatory path around the cella. A portion of the courtyard is roofed : here the *pandit* who performs *katha* and *kirtan* on occasions sits.[155] All the walls of the temple including those of the courtyard and the *deorhi*, were originally embellished with frescoes. Only 25 paintings portraying mostly Hindu themes have survived. While the frescoes on the upper portions of the walls are in a good state of preservation, the frescoes on the lower portions, being easily accessible, have been badly damaged. Some of the panels of paintings in the courtyard and the *deorhi* depict life-sized figures. In the shrine proper, however, the fresco panels are smaller. The paintings appear to have been painted early in the second half of the 19th century.

32. *Gurudwara* Darbar Sahib.[156]

Dedicated to Guru Nanak, *gurudwara* Darbar Sahib, a place of Sikh pilgrimage, is located at Dera Baba Nanak. Based on a square plan, it is an ostentatious structure with a highly ornamental appearance.[157] Many important persons including Diwan Nanak Baksh,[158] *wazir* to the Nizam of Hayderabad Deccan, Raja Chandu Lal,[159] Maharaja Ranjit Singh,[160] and Rani Chand Kaur,[161] are said to have endowed the construction of the shrine. The construction was begun in 1765 A.D. through the agency of the Bedis and its first phase finished in 1787 A.D.[162] However it was finally completed in V.S. 1884[163] (= 1827 A.D.) through funds given by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The whole of the edifice apparently was originally embellished with wall-paintings and sculptures. While the paintings on the outside of the building[164] have been rubbed beyond recognition, about a dozen murals depicting religious themes have survived in varying conditions of preservation on the inner walls. The sculptural forms representing various Hindu deities, however, are in a distinctly better state of preservation than the murals. Most of the extant mural panels are small in size. This is one of the only two edifices with murals as well as sculptures,[165] that I have come across during my field work in the Punjab.

33. Bhandari Bhola Temple.[166]

This temple[167] stands to the west of the town of Batala within the precincts of a walled enclosure known as the *gau-shala*. A flight of steps leads to the temple built on a platform some 10 feet high. Before the entrance to the shrine is a varandah supported on pillars and a wide circumambulatory passage runs around the *garbha-griha*. The temple was constructed in V.S. 1914[168] (= 1857 A.D.) by the family of Rai Kishan Chand Bhandari of Batala.[169] Fourteen frescoes in vertical rectangular panels, mostly depicting portrait studies, survive on the outer walls of the *garbha-griha* but are in a state of advanced decay. Whatever has survived of the work indicates that it was of high quality.

34. The Temple of Maharani Chand Kaur.[170]

This temple is located at Fategarh Churian in the Batala sub-division of Gurdaspur district. It was built by Maharani Chand Kaur, whose name it bears, following the death of Maharaja Kharak Singh,[171] son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the husband of the Maharani. Its construction date can thus be placed about the year 1841. The imposing temple stands in the midst of a large square, with high walls on three sides and two-storeyed apartments and a roofed gateway on the fourth. On all the four corners of the enclosure are small temples devoted to different Hindu deities. The main shrine stands on a circular plan surrounded by a circumambulatory path with its roof supported by pillars. A dozen 19th century murals are to be seen on the inner sides of the walls of the shrine. Almost half the space has been devoted to floral decoration; the rest is taken up by paintings executed in different-sized panels, portraying Hindu themes, birds and animals. No other part of the temple complex including the four small temples have any murals.

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16. Guru Nanak Dev. A drawing based on a wall-painting of gurudwara Satkartarian, Sri Hargobindpur, district Gurdaspur.

35. The Temple of Shri Nam Dev.[172]

Devoted to Shri Nam Dev, a 14th century poet and saint of Maharashtra, this temple stands at Ghoman, a village in the Batala sub-division of district Gurdaspur. It is a round structure of considerable dimensions; the walls are so thick that a staircase runs through the width of the wall itself. Adjoining the main shrine stands a smaller shrine based on a circular plan and surmounted by a dome and with a handsomely carved wooden door. More than ten murals painted on a wide panel along the top of the wall, skirting the base of the dome, are still extant, both in the larger and the smaller shrines. Paintings below the panel have been covered, however, by a thick cost of whitewash. Some paintings, even though in a bad state of preservation, also survive on the outer side of the walls of the main shrine. The themes painted are invariably religious belonging both to Hindu and Sikh subjects. The temple was got built by Jassa Singh Ramgarhia[173] who died in 1802; these wall-paintings may thus be examples of work executed in the last quarter of the 18th century.

36. The *Gurudwara* of Satkartarian.[174]

Too small to accommodate more than a few devotees at a time, this *gurudwara* is located in Sri Hargobindpur. Having none of the features of the usual *gurudwaras*, it appears more to be a secular construction than a religious edifice built about 90 years ago[175] by the Satkartaria brotherhood.[176] Approached by narrow stairs, the shrine proper is built on the 3rd storey of a building, the lower two storeys being used for purposes other than a religious. There are extant remains of more than a dozen wall-paintings representing Sikh Gurus and a few other themes on the inside of the dome that surmounts the *gurudwara*. Most of the paintings consist of portraits depicting different persons.

37. A Shiva Temple.[177]

This temple at Achal Batala, a few miles from the town of Batala, stands on a square base in the centre of a sacred tank and is approached by a causeway. It was built by Bhawani Singh Bhandari

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of Batala, about the middle of the 19th century.[178] Around the *garbha-griha* is a circumambulatory path, the walls of which were adorned with murals. Some of these still survive although in a state of decay. A coat of whitewash recently applied on the ceiling has left splashes of whitewash on many panels. The wall-paintings are also being damaged by the destructive action of saltpetre. Most of the paintings represent themes from *Mahabharata*.

38. The Shrine of Baba Buddha Ji.[179]

This is located in Teja, a village near Dhianpur in the Batala sub-division. An old structure with the features of a *baradari*, it has on its walls a few murals with warfare themes. The paintings appear to be late 19th century work. The interior of another building, with a circular base and topped by a dome, within the complex of this shrine is also painted with murals. This work is however very poor. It was done in V.S. 1977[180] (= 1920 A.D.) perhaps by a local painter.

39. The *Shivala* of Lala Duni Chand.[181]

This temple stands in Dhepai, a village in the Batala sub-division. Built on the usual pattern of a temple, with a narrow circumambulatory path around the cella, it was got constructed in V.S. 1947[182] (= 1890 A.D.) by Duni Chand Khatri. Ten frescoes representing Hindu deities and scenes from the *Mahabharata*, painted in rectangular pannels, are to be seen on its walls. The work is in a reasonable state of preservation.

B. THE DOABA TRACT

III. DISTRICT HOSHIARPUR

40. The *Gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari.[183]

This *gurudwara* at Una[184] was built in memory of Baba Kala Dhari, one of the descendants of the Bedi family of Guru Nanak. Though Baba Kala Dhari died in 1738[185] A.D. the shrine was erected sometime in the second quarter of the 19th century by Baba Bikram Singh Bedi. Built of solid masonry, this single-storeyed edifice stands on an octagonal base with an interior which is more reminiscent of a Hindu temple than a Sikh shrine. The holy Granth Sahib is enshrined in a small *garbha-griha* encircled by a broad circumambulatory path. The building originally had seventy-three horizontal panels of wall-paintings, painted to look like miniatures. These panels form a continuous frieze on the inside of the outer wall of the circumambulatory, close to the ceiling. All except for a few of the murals are in a good state of preservation. The themes depicted are religious, both Sikh and Hindu.

41. The Bairagi *Thakurdwara* at Ram Tatwali[186].

Affiliated to the Ramanandi Vaishnava sect, this *thakurdwara* of Bairagis entirely built of dressed stone stands at Ram Tatwali, a village at the foot of the Shivaliks in district Hoshiarpur. The shrine is three miles from Dholbaha, a site of archaeological importance, from where it is approached on foot by a jagged path not usable by vehicular traffic. The shrine is popular for the fair that is held here annually on *Janmashtami*.[187] The *garbha-griha* of the temple is based on an octagonal plan and is surmounted by a dome; around it is built a circumambulatory path which, too, is based on an octagonal plan. There is provision for entering it from all eight sides. Around the temple are single and double-storeyed living quarters used by the priests and their attendants who also run a *langarkhana*. A large number of wall-paintings of competent workmanship are extant here. Their state of preservation is not very good. However the wall paintings in three rooms on the second storey of the building, just above the main entrance gate to the shrine, are in a considerably better state. One of the apartments, about 24 feet by 10 feet, has numerous murals painted in systematically divided panels depicting themes alike of religious and secular nature. But for the captions recently scrawled on these paintings, these would have been among the best-preserved of 19th century murals in the Punjab. That the paintings were executed sometime after the annexation of the Punjab by the British[188] is evident from the themes illustrating the Anglo-Sikh wars

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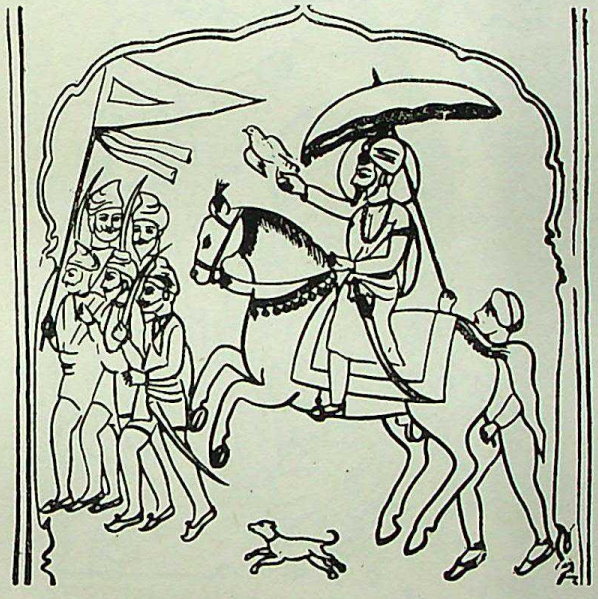

17. Guru Gobind Singh on horseback. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Bairagi thakurdwara at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

and the surrender of the Sikh armies. Nearly two hundred panels of paintings were still there in the temple when I revisited it in October 1976.

42. The *Samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh.[189]

In the *dera* belonging to Nirmala *sadhus* known as Mast Garh, located opposite the Govt. Higher Secondary School at Tanda, stands the *samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh, the founder of the *dera*. From an inscription surviving on one of its walls, the *samadh* was completed in V.S. 1900 (= 1843 A.D.). The edifice stands on a raised plat-form which measures 15 by 15 feet. The walls rise to a height of about 22 feet and support a bulbous dome with a pinnacle topping the entire structure. While much is whitewashed, the interior is embellished with mural paintings executed in a competent hand. There are thirty-nine panels of paintings divided into three tiers, the lower two containing twelve paintings each and the upper most skirting the ceiling, with fifteen panels. The subjects depicted vary, and include Hindu and Sikh themes, portraits, and Mohammedan themes representing figures like Shams Tabriz and King Suleiman.

43. The house of Shri Kundan Lal Suniara.[190]

Built of small brick, this three-storeyed house stands in the Main Bazar of Dasuya town. The bare walls of its ground floor, consisting of a shop, hardly prepare one for murals that appear on walls on the second and third storeys. The paintings on the walls of the second storey, but for a few panels, are in a damaged state. Nine paintings on the second floor, however, are comparatively better preserved. Most of these are painted in vertical panels two and half feet by four feet. The considerable space left bare between the painted panels on the second floor imparts to its walls a different though pleasing look. There is a variety of themes treated of here but secular themes predominate. All the paintings bear, interestingly enough, captions in Persian script.

44. The *Samadh* of the Rani of Jind.[191]

Adjoining the Udasi *akhara* of Baba Charan Shah in the vicinity of Bahadurgarh, a suburb of

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Hoshiarpur, stands an august double-storeyed cenotaph generally referred to as *Rani di Samadh*, the Rani being one of the wives of the Raja of Jind who died near Hoshiarpur on her way back from a pilgrimage to Chintpurni.[192] The first storey resembles a *baradari*. Above it, considerably smaller, is the *samadh* surmounted by a dome. Around it runs an open circular *pradakshina path* with its roof supported on pillars. In front of the *samadh* is a gateway approached by a flight of steps. On the inside of the *samadh*, a panel of 19th century murals consisting of seven paintings of Sikh and Hindu themes are to be found in a good state of preservation.

45. The Temple at Jandwal.[193]

Based on a square plan, this substantial looking temple with its massive walls is situated at Jandwal, a village about six miles from Mukerian on the road towards Pathankot. It was erected in V.S. 1857[194] (= 1800 A.D.) by the Chaudharies of the village and is, therefore, known as *Chaudharian da Mandir*. A score of fresco panels are extant on the front wall and on the walls that constitute the circumambulatory path inside the temple. Many of the paintings are well-preserved; only those on the front wall are much rubbed. The themes of the paintings vary but are mostly secular in character. It appears that the frescoes were painted considerably after the date of the erection of the temple. One of the themes portraying a 'white sahib and his lady' holding umbrellas over their heads gives a clue to the late date of the paintings.

46. The *Samadh* of the daughter of Mai Hiran.[195]

A small octagonal *samadh* stands on the premises of the Government High School at Bhunga, on the Hoshiarpur-Dasuya road. According to local tradition, it was raised over the ashes of Bibi Basant Kaur, one of the daughters of Mai Hiran, the Rani of Kapurthala. The building that now houses the school was originally a *dharmsala*[196] built in memory of the deceased Basant Kaur by the erstwhile state of Kapurthala, for Bhunga then fell in its territory. More than ten panels on various themes, mostly squarish, are to be seen inside the *samadh*. The students of the school would have spoiled the

18. Guru Nanak Dev with an attendant behind. A drawing based on wall-painting of the samadh of the daughter of Mai Hiran at Bhunga, district Hoshiarpur.

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19. Guru Gobind Singh on horseback. A drawing based on a wall-painting of the samadh of Tara Singh Gheba at Rahon, district Jullundur.

murals long ago but for the fact that broken furniture is now stored in it.

47. The *Shivala* of Buta Ram.[197]

This temple, devoted to Lord Shiva, was built at Gardhiwala in V.S. 1840[198] (= 1783 A.D.) by Buta Ram whose name it bears. The portico as well as the interior of the temple were originally embellished with wall-paintings, some of which are still extant. The paintings in the portico are relatively better preserved than the paintings inside, which have been obliterated by layers of carbon. The themes of the paintings vary but most of them are derived from Hindu mythology.

48. The *Samadh* of Baba Charn Shah.[199]

Within the imposing *akhara* of Udasi saints, generally known as *Darbar Baba Charn Shah Ji*, at Bahadurgarh, a suburb of Hoshiarpur, stands the ordinary looking *samadh* of Charn Shah, the founder of the *akhara*, who is said to have died in V.S. 1733[200] (= 1676 A.D.). The *samadh*, however, is not very old for it appears to have been constructed about the end of the last century. A few panels representing religious themes are extant on the upper portion of outer walls. The panels painted on the lower portions have been considerably damaged by recent repairs to the *samadh*.

IV. DISTRICT JULLUNDUR

49. The *Thakurdwara* of Lala Chuhar Mal.[201]

An inscription above the entrance door of this sumptuously built temple at Nakodar records its construction to have begun in V.S. 1943 (= 1886 A.D.) and completed in V.S. 1950 (= 1893 A.D.) by Lala Chuhar Mal son of Lala Bhawani Das. The lintel of the entrance door that leads to the *deorhi* is carved with delicate figures of goddesses and prepares one to see mural embellishment inside. After crossing the *deorhi*, which has no adornment, one comes to the shrine proper, with its square-based cella surmounted by a *shikhara* and a narrow circumambulatory path. While the wall-paintings in the cella appear to have been painted at the time the

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temple was built, those embellishing the circumambulatory, were painted in the year V.S. 1975[202] (= 1918 A.D.). There is a conspicuous difference between the style of the earlier and the later work. The paintings in the circumambulatory are in panels that vary both in size and in format ; they are laid out in an orderly and systematized way Except a few panels, all the work comprising not less than fifty painted panels, invariably of religious character, is in a good state of preservation.

50. The Temple of Baba Hari Har.[203]

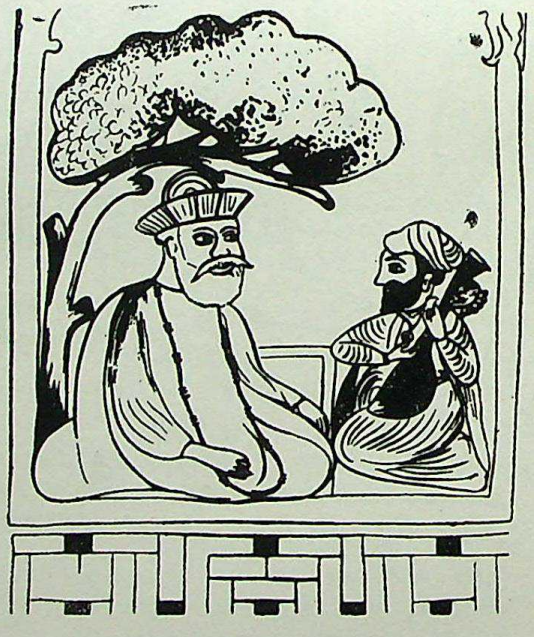
Erected about a hundred years ago and financed by Lala Basant Rai Khosla,[204] this temple stands in the town of Nur Mahal near the splendid *sarai* erected by the Mughals. After crossing a courtyard, the temple which is on the second storey, is reached by a staircase. It is based on a square plan ; the cella is topped by a *shikhara* and is enclosed by a narrow circumambulatory path. Nearly twenty frescoes, representing diverse themes, are to be seen on the outer walls of the cella. While the colours of some of the panels are rubbed off, there are others which have been totally claimed by coats of whitewash.

51. *Dera* Udasian.[205]

Dera Udasian, or the monastery of the Udasi sect,[206] is located in the heart of Jamsher, a large village, a few miles south of Jullundur. The major building of the *dera*, which consists of a number of structures, was built by *mahant* Gobind Das in V.S. 1857[207] (= 1800 A.D.). Structural additions have since been made to provide more covered space. Nearly ten well preserved wall-paintings portraying Sikh Gurus and the *mahants* of the establishment have survived in a room on the second storey of the *dera*. The paintings, however, appear to have been the work of the last quarter of the 19th century. This date is also suggested by the coloured glass used in the windows of the painted chamber.

52. The *Samadh* of Tara Singh Gheba.[208]

Tara Singh Gheba, a Kang Jat-Sikh, was the head of the Dalawalia *misal*[209] and a prominent personage of the late 18th and early 19th century Punjab.[210] He died in a battle at Naraingarh in



20. Guru Nanak Dev with Mardana, the rebeck player to the Guru. A drawing based on a wall-painting of samadh of Bibi Bhani at Kartarpur, district Jullundur.

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1807[211] A.D., but his cenotaph was built by his son Jhanda Singh at Rahon,[212] five miles south of Nawanshahar, which had served as the capital of Tara Singh.[213] Devoid of any architectural pretensions, the octagonal structure stands on a raised platform near a tank named Ramsar. All the eight panels formed just below the base of the dome that surmounts the octagonal structure, are painted with murals which are much damaged. Most of the themes are taken from Hindu mythology.

53. The *Samadh* of Bibi Bhani.[214]

Bibi Bhani's *samadh*, stands near the *samadh* of Mata Kaulan within the precincts of Pucca Bagh in Ramgarhia *Mohalla* at Kartarpur in district Jullundur. The structure surmounted by a big dome and flanked by a number of *samadhs*, is possibly more than a hundred years old : its inside is painted with murals portraying both religious and secular themes. The colours of some of the panels have been damaged by rain water.

54. The Temple at Lasara.[215]

A temple devoted to Shiva and erected about the middle of the 19th century, stands at Lasara, a village on the Ludhiana-Nawanshahar road. Owing to its lofty *shikhara*, the structure is impressive to look at, especially from a distance. Constant neglect has affected some of its splendour. The base is square; the *garbha-griha* is enclosed by a narrow *parikrama*. Murals, depicting different themes, survive on the walls of the circumambulatory as well as inside the second storey. In workmanship, the paintings are considerably poorer than the architecture of the temple.

55. The *Gurudwara* of Shri Baba Mati Shahid.[216]

This *gurudwara* is situated at Daroli Kalan, a village near Adampur in district Jullundur. This in fact is a cenotaph and local tradition associates it to Bhai Mati Das, a zealous devotee of Guru Teg Bahadur, who was captured by the Mughals and was put to death at Delhi in V.S. 1732[217] (= 1675 A.D.). It is said to have been built in the period of the Sikh Kingdom. Several mural panels are still extant here; many of these, however, are faded. Most of the themes represent scenes from Hindu mythology.

56. The *Baradari* at Kartarpur.[218]

A *baradari*, one of the older buildings at Kartarpur, built probably in the 19th century, has more than fifteen quaint murals on its walls and ceiling. They are, however, very seriously damaged, most of them having been scratched by street urchins. The themes of the paintings vary, but most of them are taken from Hindu mythology.

57. The Temple of Misr Bhup Chand.[219]

Chashma Faiz, also known as Nawan Talab, surrounded by a number of structures, stands just out of the town of Nur Mahal on the Phillaur road. This complex was built by Misr Bhup Chand, a local person of considerable influence and status. Among the structures is a simply built temple devoted to Shiva. The upper portions of its inside as well as the dome were painted with murals some of which are still extant.

58. The *Devi Dwara* at Nawanshahar.[220]

A temple known as 'devidwara' is located in the Committee Bazar in Nawanshahar Doaba. About a hundred years old, this is a double-storeyed structure so built that the interior of the first storey has a dome on which is based the second storey which is surmounted by a dome in turn. Fifteen panels of paintings still embellish the insides of the domes : those in the upper dome are of comparatively better workmanship and are better preserved.

59. *Gurudwara* Thamb Sahib.[221]

The *gurudwara* Thamb Sahib at Kartarpur is associated with Guru Arjan Dev who erected here a sandal-wood post some 50 feet high which is venerated under the name of Thambji. It is a tall structure built with money offered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh on his visit to Kartarpur in 1833.[222] Although no wall-painting depicting figurative work is seen in this *gurudwara*, its interior is richly embellished with very elegant floral designs of diverse shapes and patterns.

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V. DISTRICT KAPURTHALA

60. The Shiva Temple at Shekhupur.[223]

The Shiva temple at Shekhupur, a village on the Kapurthala-Sultanpur road, is said to have been constructed by Diwan Sudagar Mal of Kapurthala in fulfilment of his word given to a holy man residing close to the village. By the orders of the Diwan, local tradition says, all the camels transporting brick loads to Kapurthala for the construction of the *Jalao Khana* there, were made to leave two bricks at this place. The temple, with an octagonal base and a small *garbha-griha*, is encircled by the broad *pradakshina path* in which are to be seen large sized murals. The work is, however, in a state of neglect. The paintings represent religious themes.

C. THE MALWA TRACT

VI. DISTRICT FEROZEPUR

61. The *Haveli* of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda.[224]

The imposing *haveli* of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda is in Ferozepur City, in Street Seth Baldev Das. This is a complex structure, built more than a hundred years ago by Seth Baldev Das.[225] The three-storeyed structure, raised around a square courtyard, was originally completely covered with wall-paintings. At present, however, only ten paintings are extant in one room on the top floor and on the front wall of the *haveli*. The room, having murals in an excellent state of preservation, is about 12 feet by 14 feet. Most of the paintings depicting Sikh and Hindu themes have been executed in large niches : the rest of the wall is embellished with tasteful designs which extend to the wooden ceiling.

21. Maharaja Sher Singh. A drawing based on a wall-painting of the haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda, Ferozepur.

62. The Jain Svetambara Temple at Zira.[226]

The Jain temple at Zira is dedicated to Shri Parshva Nath.[227] After its completion, all members of the Jain sect in the area gathered here and offered

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homage to Shri Rishabha Dev, one of the 24 Jain *tirthankaras*, on the *shudi ekadshi* of *Maghar*, V. *Samvat* 1948[228] (7th April, 1887). The shrine housed on the second storey, is imposing and its lofty *shikhara* makes it conspicuous in the town. Before the square-based *garbha-griha* is a *dalan* of considerable dimensions for devotees to sit in and listen to religious discourses. This is said to be a later addition[229] to the temple. While the interior of *garbha-griha* is elaborately ornamented with architectural devices, the outer surface of the walls is adorned with murals representing sectarian themes. In an effort to renovate the murals, portions of these were painted afresh a few years ago without any alteration being made in the original composition. The difference between the original and the retouched portions, however, is noticeable. At present only fifteen wall-paintings are extant.

63. The *Serai* at Zira.[230]

The *serai* at Zira built in V. S. 1950[231] (= 1893 A.D.) is a structure of considerable local fame primarily due to its huge and imposing gateway with its sculptures and ornamentation. The *serai* does not serve the purpose for which it was initially built, for it is now virtually a part of the grain market. The rooms flanking the gateway, meant originally for travellers, have been converted into shops. All the walls in the *serai* were originally embellished with murals; only a small proportion of these, however, has survived on the upper portions of the inside of the gateway that forms the *deorhi*. Most of the themes portrayed are religious in character; but there are also interesting genre themes here.

64. The *samadh* of Baba Man Singh.[232]

The *samadh* of Baba Man Singh, a structure of modest proportions, is located near Sodhiwala, a village in *tehsil* Zira. Baba Man Singh is said to have been a man of great powers and the peasant folk of the nearby villages hold the *samadh* in veneration, making offerings of liquor here. Built more than a hundred years ago, the *samadh*, surmounted by a dome, stands on a square base with a large porch in front. Saltpetre has affected the plaster on the lower part of the walls, destroying many murals painted on them. Ten panels pertaining mostly to genre themes, however, still survive and are well preserved.

65. The *Haveli* of Badhwaran.[233]

This three-storeyed *haveli*, raised around a square courtyard, containing a number of rooms, stands in Street Seth Baldev Das in Ferozepur City. The *haveli*, it is said, was originally built by a *Marwari* trader of Calcutta in the last quarter of the 19th century and sold later to a *Khatri* family of the Badhwaran sub-caste. Mural ornamentation on the facade of the main entrance greets the visitors. However, less than a dozen wall-paintings that have survived are to be seen in a room on the second storey. An adjacent room is also embellished but with mirror work, not mural paintings.

66. The Digambara Jain *Panchayati Mandir* at Ferozepur Cantt.[234]

The temple was built in Mahavir Samvat 2423.[235] It is a well-built structure, raised with precision and care. While the interior of the *garbha-griha* enshrining Jain images has costly ornamentation, the exterior is embellished with mural paintings, depicting Jain themes. The figures are executed in very small sizes. The paintings which are well preserved appear to be the work of competent hands.

67. The *Samadh* of Lala Telu Mall.[236]

The plain looking *samadh* of Lala Telu Mall is located on the outskirts of Ferozepur City near the Zira Darwaza. An inscription on the *samadh* records it to have been built in V.S. 1954 (= 1897 A.D.). Although originally the inside of the *samadh* was covered with murals now only a few paintings can be seen. The themes are religious in character.

VII. DISTRICT FARIDKOT

68. *Gurudwara* Pothi Mala.[237]

The *gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai, a town in the Muktsar sub-division, is an imposing

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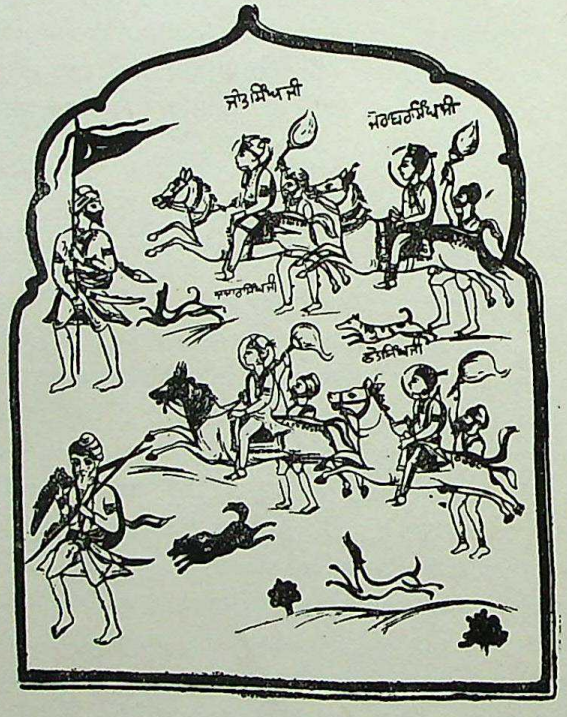
building built about 1870[238] A.D. on a mound that overlooks the surrounding desert tract. It is a place of pilgrimage for Aroras of the North.[239] The founder of the town was one Jiwan Mal, a Sodhi, seventh in descent from Guru Ram Das,[240] who named it Guru Harsahai after the Guru's eldest son.[241] Since Jiwan Mal's time, a *guruship* is going on and the *guru*, as head of the family, is the guardian of the sacred book and the rosary which originally belonged to Guru Nanak.[242] This sacred book and rosary, which unfortunately have now been stolen, used to be kept in the *gurudwara* : hence the name Pothi Mala,[243] *pothi* and *mala* meaning sacred book and rosary respectively. The double-storeyed building of the *gurudwara*, having a number of rooms, is an imposing building. There is the *nishan-sahib* or the post indicative of a Sikh sacred shrine. The wooden lintel of the main entrance to the *gurudwara* is carved and one is led to the second storey through a staircase where the holy Granth Sahib is housed in a square-based room within a large *dalan*. The entire length of the walls that constitute the *dalan* and the square-based room are embellished with frescoes depicting religious as well as genre themes. These well painted panels of both square and rectangular format, seem to be the work of a gifted artist. Barring a few, all the paintings are well preserved, and are more than two scores in number.



22. Four Sahibzadas of Guru Gobind Singh in the battle-field. A drawing based on a wall-painting of gurudwara Pothi Mala, Guru Harsahai, district Faridkot.

69. The *Mari* of Baba Sidh at village Mari.[244]

The building at *Mari* which gives its name to the village located in *tehsil* Moga was erected by a Lahore banker in A.H. 1203[245] (= 1788 A.D.). From that time a fair is held here annually on the 14th of Chet.[246] The fair commemorates a *sadhu* whose name is variously given as Gharsi and Lachman. According to local tradition he was a Malhi Jat whose head was chopped off in a battle and fell at village Charik but who kept on fighting till his headless body fell in village Mari.[247] The structure, though devoid of any architectural pretensions, imparts an aure of nobility to the edifice. The *mari* consists of two parallel chambers with vaulted roofs with separate vault-shaped entrances and interconnected by two openings in the middle wall. The chambers are surrounded by a high wall giving the

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structure an air of fortification. A score of wall-paintings portraying religious themes embellishing the interior of the chambers are still extant. Because of incense-smoke burnt as a part of daily worship, the colours of the surviving paintings have lost their glow. The murals on the surrounding wall[248] are no longer to be seen.

23. Guru Nanak Dev flanked by Bala and Mardana. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Gurudwara Gurusar at Bargarhi, district Faridkot.

70. *Gurudwara* Lohgarh Sahib.[249]

Gurudwara Lohgarh, associated with Guru Gobind Singh stands at Dina, a village in *tehsil* Moga of district Faridkot. The shrine was raised in V.S. 1914[250] (= 1857 A.D.) by Wazir Singh, Raja of Faridkot.[251] The *gurudwara* is built on the pattern of a square *baradari* having a square-based room in the centre wherein is enshrined the holy Granth Sahib. Above the square-based room is another room of equal dimensions surmounted by a big dome. Frescoes, pertaining mostly to Sikh themes are extant on the walls as well as on the massive pillars in the square circumambulatory. Murals are also to be seen on the walls of the two-storeyed house adjacent to the *gurudwara* but these are poor in execution.

71. *Gurudwara* Gurusar.[252]

Gurudwara Gurusar, also associated with Guru Gobind Singh,[253] stands at Bargarhi, a village on the Faridkot-Bhatinda road. The shrine is quite small but well-built. Guru Granth Sahib is enshrined in a square-based room with three doors each in front and at the back. The room is encircled by a narrow *parikrama* which has some murals on its walls. Above the room is an extension that supports the dome. This is raised on a hexagonal base and three out of its six sides bear wall-paintings, unfortunately badly damaged. The themes represented are Sikh. While murals on the ground floor were painted on the completion of the edifice some eighty years ago, those embellishing the upper hexagonal structure appear to be of a later date.

72. The *Samadh* of Bishan Singh Sodhi.[254]

The octagonal *samadhs*, one of Bishan Singh Sodhi and the other of his son Jagat Singh stand next to each other at Buttar, a village on the Moga-

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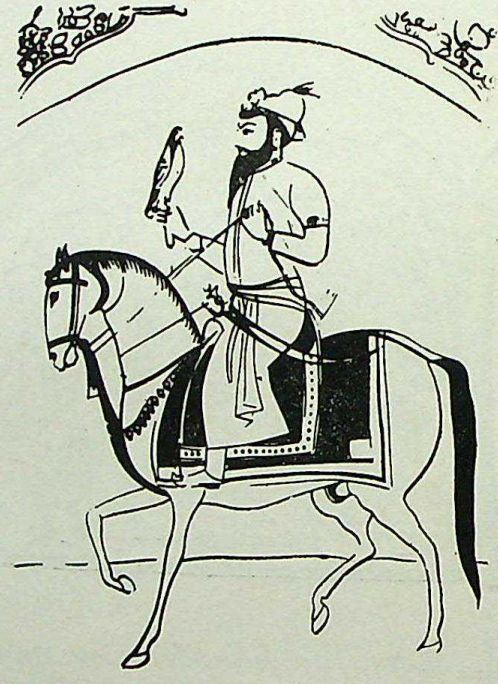
Barnala road. The *samadh* of Bishan Singh who died in 1826[255] A.D., is larger than that of his son. Although the British granted half of the village Dila Ram to the Butter family of the Sodhis for the maintenance of the *samadh*,[256] it appears that little was done towards its upkeep which is evident from its desolated condition. The insides of all the eight sides of the *samadh* were once painted with murals but are now unfortunately in a state of decay. Both religious and secular themes are intermixed. Jagat Singh's *samadh* also appear to have had murals on its walls, but these have now nearly completely disappeared.

73. The *Shish Mahal* in Faridkot Fort.[257]

The murals that adorn the side walls of the entrance to Faridkot Fort are in subdued colours. Above the entrance, on the top floor, is a chamber of considerable proportions with elegantly inset pieces of mirrors in the walls as well as pillars ; hence the name *shish mahal* : the 'palace of mirrors'. A square room which opens into the *shish mahal* on the right side is embellished with more than a dozen wall-paintings, now in a poor state. The paintings treat of a variety of subjects, religious as well as genre in character and appear to be the work of competent hands, reminiscent of Pahari work. The murals were painted after the completion of the *Shish Mahal* which was built in 1876[258] A.D. by Raja Bikram Singh. The paintings on the side walls of the entrance to the fort were renovated in 1924[259] A.D. when Capt. Brown was the State Engineer and Military Adviser.



24. Guru Gobind Singh on horseback. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Shish Mahal in Faridkot Fort.

VIII. DISTRICT LUDHIANA

74. The *Samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh[260].

Baba Mohar Singh was the founder of the 'Maihma Sahi' branch of the Nirmalas,[261] a monastic order of the Sikhs. He was a poet-saint who belonged to the house of Bhai Daya Singh, one of the 'Five Beloveds' of Guru Gobind Singh.[262] He died in 1835[263] A.D. and his *samadh* was built by his disciple named Bir Singh Rangrez [264] near Lopon. The place is situated near Doraha Mandi in district Ludhiana. The *samadh* is an imposing structure, built on a

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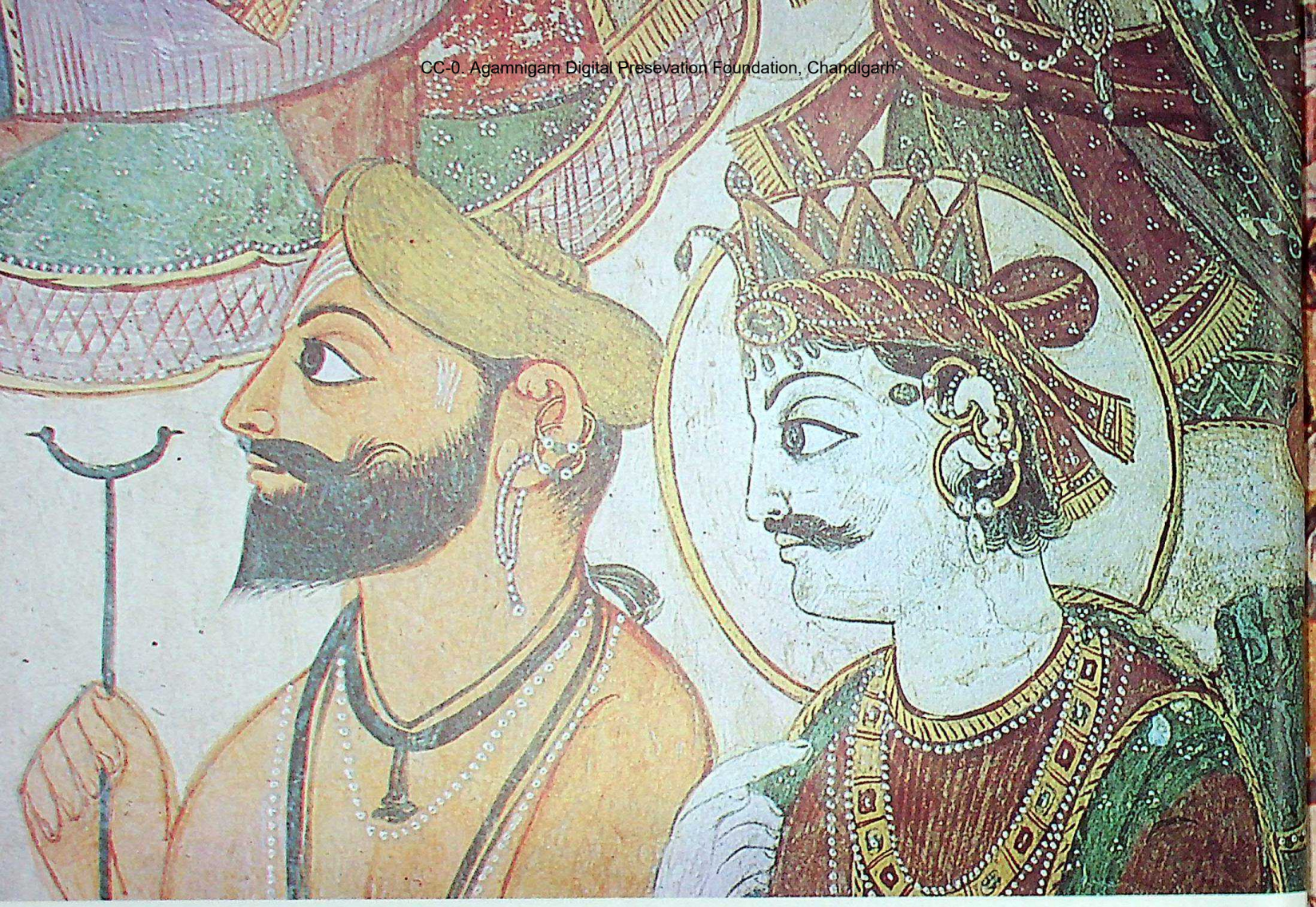

Detail of a fresco panel from the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala.

X. *So far as painting is concerned in Sikh Punjab, the art of portraiture has been considered best. This view is supported by some of the mural panels also, as we see the one reproduced here, for instance. Two figures appearing in it cannot strictly be termed as portraits, for they are neither painted from life, nor portray contemporary personages. Still they look to be fine portraits, penetrating studies, dealt with meticulously by the painter.*

A large panel, flanking entrance to the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala, illustrates the proclaimation of Rama as king of Ayodhya and Vibhishina as king of Lanka. Several personages of the age attended the ceremony including the two portrayed in this detail.

XI. *This painting illustrates* **Matsya avatara** *or fish incarnation in which form Vishnu appeared in order to save the seventh Manu and the* **Vedas** *from the 'Deluge'.*

Murals in 19th century Punjab were obviously painted in a 'traditional style', and may in general character be described as 'decorative', following an ornamental scheme. It is clear that these murals had little stylistic affiliation with the great style of the murals of ancient India, because that tradition had already died out in the medieval period.

Murals, as seen in this panel, bristle with elements of folk-painting, with their simple but clear forms and austerely used colours.

Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

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Detail of a fresco panel from the Dera of Baba Lal Ji at *Dhianpur, district Gurdaspur.*

XII. *A detail of a fresco depicting Rama and Sita attended upon by Lakshmana. Hanuman sits in reverence at the feet of his master. The writing on the fresco reads 'Shri Rama Chandra'.*

Although the compositional device of grouping figures was known to the painters and was done with some competence, as we see here, the general preference was for keeping the figures distinct from each other. Although the colours in murals were not of as wide a range as were used in contemporary miniatures, this did not effect the process of embellishing the walls.

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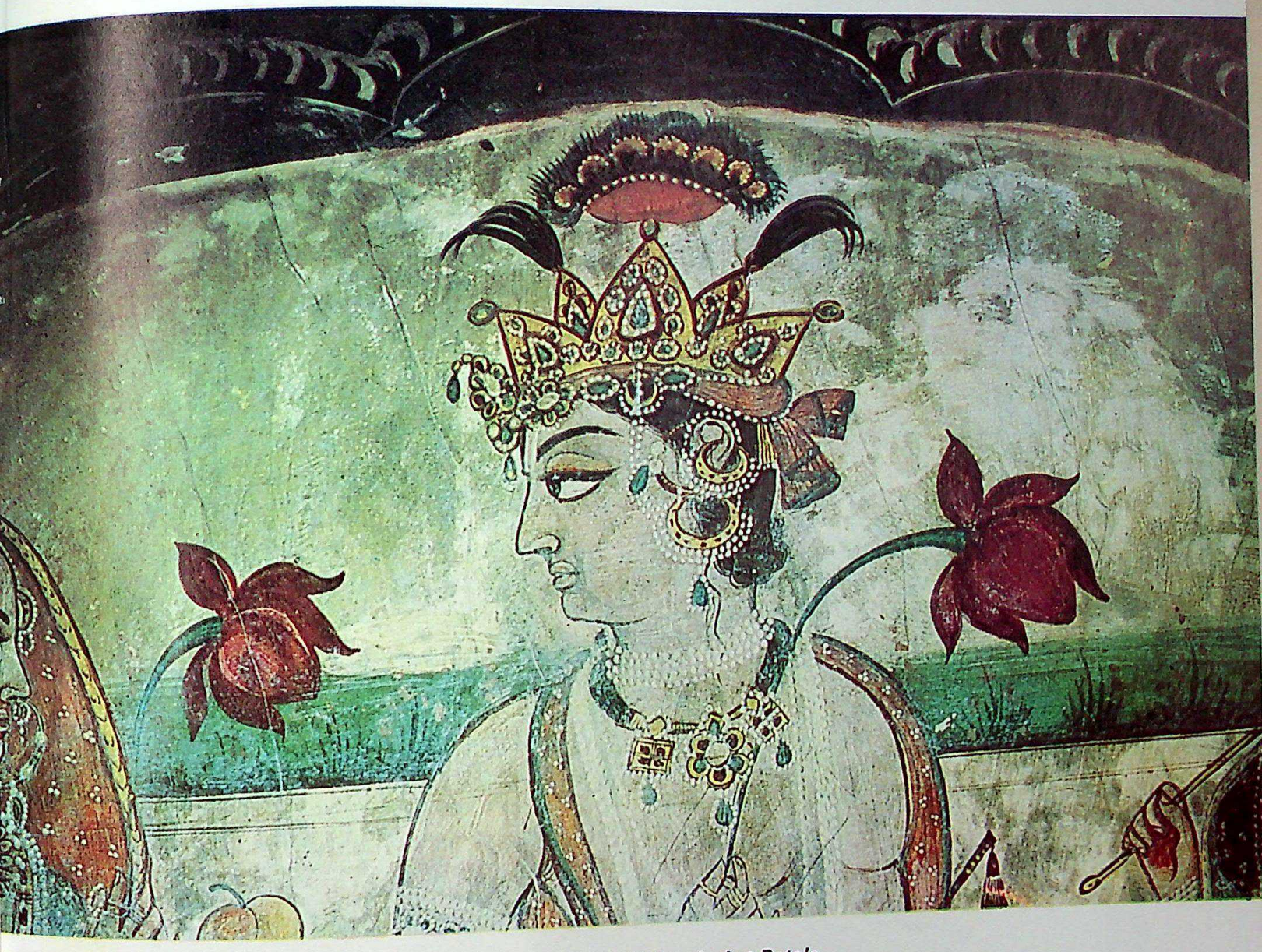

Fresco panel from the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala.

XIII. *The themes relating to Krishna were most popular with the wall-painters. Although a full sequential representation of the Krishna story is rare, collectively taken, the whole of Krishna Lila is covered. This reproduction is a close-up of a mural panel that illustrated Krishna-Rukmini theme. Krishna with a lotus in his hand stands in a pose that is almost frontal, but his face is in profile, turned towards his right where stands Rukmini holding a lotus and a pomegranete, the symbol of fertility.*

The painter, as is apparent from this painting, was a competent craftsman, able to carry out fairly good designs.

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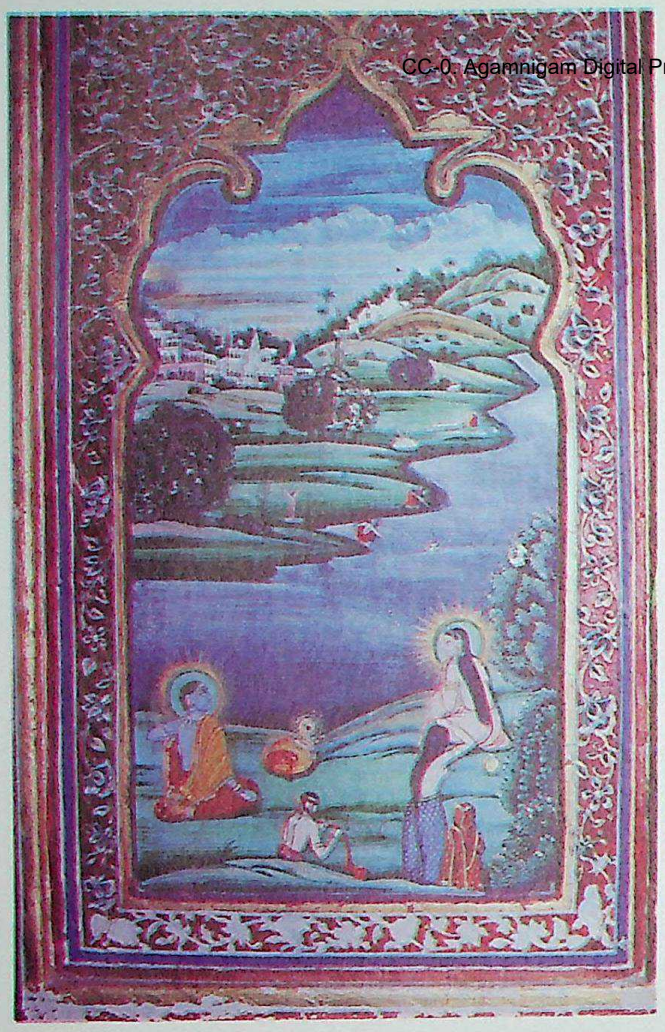

Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala.

XIV. *This panel depicts Krishna in his* **sakhi-bhava**. *The arcadian fields of Vrindaban, on the bank of Jamuna, were the scene of the activities of Krishna where he danced with the* **gopis** *and his favourite Radha. Sometimes he used to pose as one of the* **gopis,** *wearing female dress, as is shown here, sitting on left side with his* **mukata** *placed near the river, while Radha sits on the right side of the panel. Both have nimbuses over their heads and gaze penetratingly on each other. Three* **gopis** *nearby are seen engaged in their toilet.*

XV. *Of the two principles of symmetrical and optical balance, the muralists often preferred the former. Most of the themes, by the very nature of their character, demanded symmetrical balance. The principal figures were set in the centre, flanked by lesser characters, as is seen in this painting depicting Radha and Krishna seated on a couch flanked by two female attendants.*

The scrawling in **Devanagari** *characters reading 'Ram Chandar' gives wrong caption to the mural. It is a later addition apparently carried out without regard to the work.*

Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

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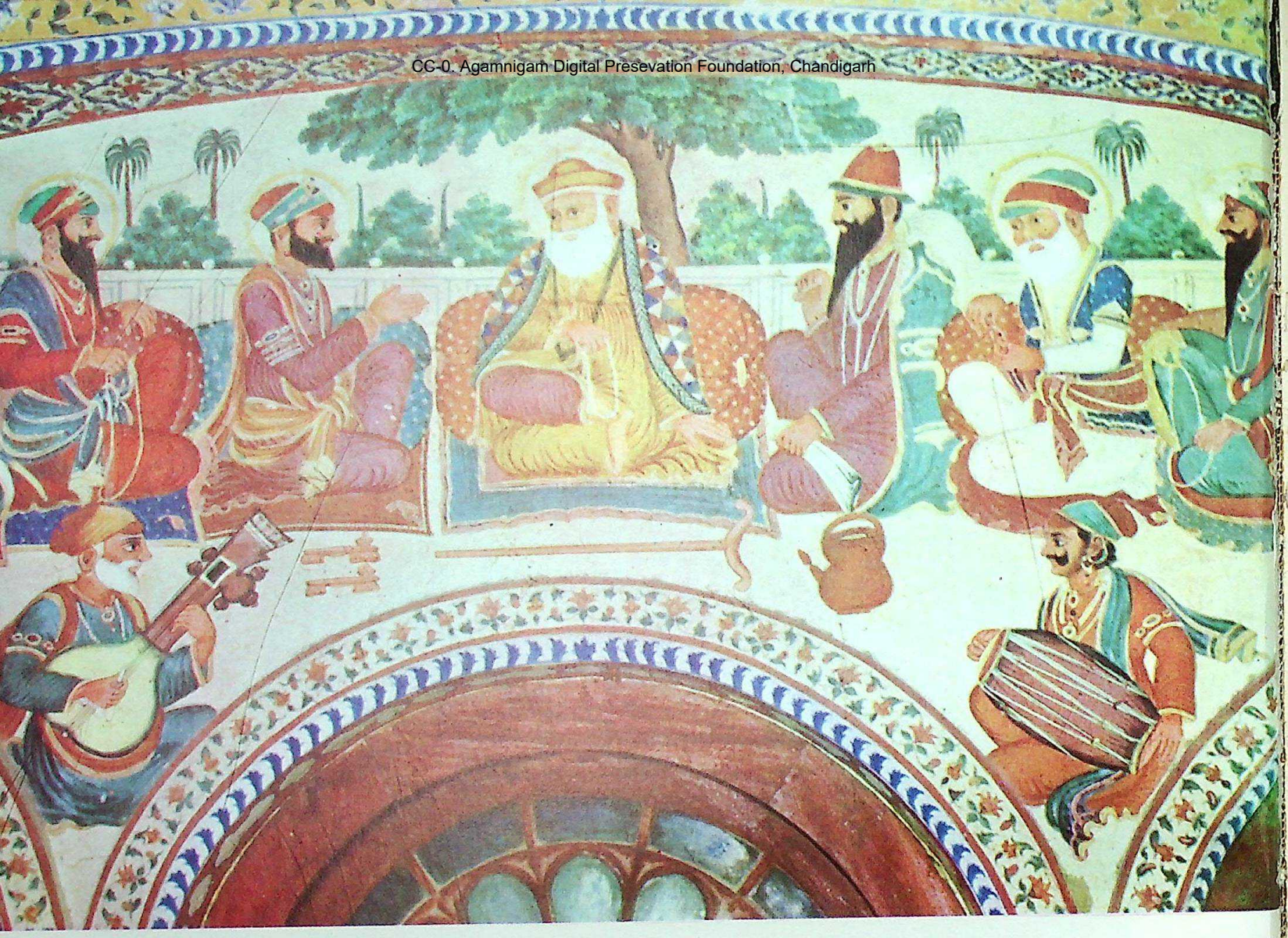

Part of a fresco panel from **Akhara** *Bala Nand, Amritsar.*

XVI. *Depicting the central part of a huge mural that covered the entire upper wall space measuring nearly 18 feet in length, this forms a representative example of making the best use of available space by a mural painter.*

Guru Nanak Dev sits in the centre, under a tree in his usual meditative pose. To his left sits Bala, the **chauri** *bearer to the Guru. The rest of the figures flanking Guru Nanak are those of other Sikh Gurus.*

The background is full of trees giving a touch of landscape often seen in late paintings, apparently under the influence of the work of European painters, both amateur as well as professional, who had started appearing in Punjab during the period of Sikh monarchy.

In the lower left side of the painting sits Mardana, the rebeck player to Guru Nanak, and facing him sits another figure playing on drum. In paintings while Mardana almost always appear with Guru Nanak as one of his companions, the figure playing on drum here is a mere addition to balance the composition and to adapt well to the shape and size of the wall surface to be embellished.

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raised platform approached by a flight of steps. Some of Baba Mohar Singh's garments are respectfully kept on a dias in the centre of the *samadh*. The interior is painted with frescoes, not only extant but intact and fresh. All the eleven panels with figurative paintings are competent works. Maihma Sahi saints and other themes form the subject of these frescoes.

75. A Mohammedan Tomb at Aandlu.[265]

A Mohammedan tomb known as *Lalan Wala Darbar* is located at Aandlu, a village in *tehsil* Jagraon of district Ludhiana. No one is locally certain about who lies buried here, nor is there any inscription giving any name or date. It appears however to be an old structure, probably at least a hundred years old. This sturdy structure, raised in solid masonry and enclosed by a wall, stands on a square base and converges to form a sail-vault dome above. The grave-stone lies in the centre. Since the partition of the country in 1947 and the emigration of Muslims from this area, no one looks after the tomb and it bears an utterly deserted look. The interior, the dome as well as the walls, is embellished with murals representing figures bearing Muslim names, some fairies and even a few Hindu themes. The colours of the paintings are now peeling off at places. This is one of the three Mohammedan monuments I have come across in the Punjab, where murals painted in the 19th century are still extant.

76. The Devi Durga *Mandir*.[266]

This temple dedicated to the goddess Durga stands at Payal, a town which once used to be a sub-*tehsil* of the erstwhile state of Patiala and lies now in district Ludhiana. Built in V.S. 1945[267] (= 1888 A.D.) for his personal use by Kundan Lal[268], a money-lender, the temple stands on private property. It is built in a plain, unpretentious style. Murals, looking like miniatures in size and style, are extant on the upper half of the walls of the square based shrine. Originally the paintings were protected by glass set in the plaster of the wall, but most of the glasses are now broken and the paintings, now exposed, are getting damaged. The themes of the paintings vary but most of them are derived from Hindu mythology.

IX. DISTRICT SANGRUR

77. The *Samadh* of Baba Dyal Das.[269]

The *dera* of Balram, situated near the Police Station of Barnala, was founded by an *Udasi* saint of that name.[270] An octagonal based *samadh* of Baba Dyal Das, one of the disciples of Balram,[271] stands to the left of the gateway that forms the main entrance to the establishment. It is a well-built structure raised on a platform and encircled by a *parikrama*, enclosed by a low cemented railing. In the centre of the *samadh* is a two feet high octagonal structure built over the remains of Baba Dyal Das. The inside of the walls and the dome were originally embellished with paintings that must originally have borne a splendid look. The paintings on the lower portions of the walls, being accessible, are now however rubbed off beyond recognition. Only eight paintings, each on one side of the *samadh*, portraying Sikh Gurus and some 9 to 12 feet in height, have survived. At the base of the dome runs another panel of paintings depicting different personalities, both Sikh and Hindu.

78. The *Haveli* of Shri Onkar Nath.[272]

Without any architectural pretensions, the *haveli* of Shri Onkar Nath, built in the last quarter of the 19th century, stands in Hadiaya, a village, four miles to the west of Barnala. It is a single-storeyed structure, with a number of rooms with doors opening into the courtyard in the centre of the *haveli*. A frieze running along the top of the four walls of the courtyard, has frescoes now in a poor state. Being exposed to the elements, the colours of the frescoes have become faded. All the same, some of the paintings still retain interest due to themes representing scenes from ordinary life, and because their workmanship must once have been good.

79. The Temple of Mai Rajji.[273]

A small temple known as *Mai Rajji da Mandir*, built more than a hundred years ago by an old

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25. Guru Gobind Singh on horseback with his followers. A drawing based on a wall-painting of the samadh of Baba Dyal Das at Barnala.

woman of that name, in honour of Satnarayan, stands close to Hadiaya, a village in sub-division Barnala. The square based temple is surmounted by a *shikhara*. The interior of the *shikhara* and the upper portions of the walls are adorned with murals in a fair state of preservation. The wall-paintings appear however to be the work of a painter who had little formal training, but are not without charm. While most of the paintings are based on Hindu themes, murals depicting Sikh themes are also to be seen.

80. The *Samadhs* of Babas Sarb Sukh, Sarb Dyal, Gopal Das and Bhagwan Das.[274]

At Jandali, a village in *tehsil* Malerkotla, is located at *akhara* of Udasi saints. Here there are two hexagonal-based *samadhs*, one raised over the ashes of Baba Sarb Sukh and the other over the remains of Sarb Dyal, Gopal Das and Bhagwan Das. The date of their construction is hard to ascertain but the structures seem to be old, the *samadh* of Baba Sarb Sukh being raised earlier than the other one. The interiors of both the *samadhs* are adorned with wall-paintings and it is apparent from the style of the murals that different painters were responsible for the work. The themes painted in the *samadh* of Baba Sarb Sukh vary but are treated in no apparent order. The paintings in the second *samadh*, however, appear to be more coherent in sequence.

81. The *Thakurdwara* at Bagarian.[275]

A *Thakurdwara*, nearly a hundred years old, stands at Bagarian, a village on the Nabha-Malerkotla road. It is built on a high platform in front of the huge *haveli* of the renowned *sardars* of that village. The interior is adorned with murals which appear, interestingly enough, like drawings in colours rather than paintings. While many of the murals have become blackened with smoke, a few

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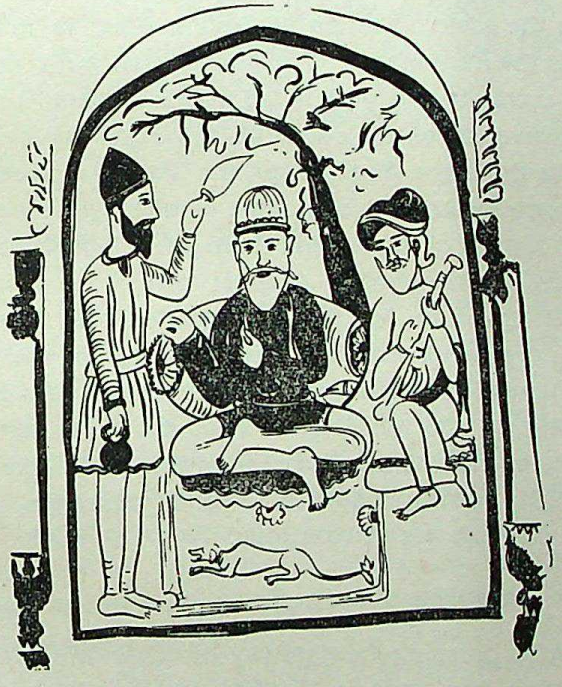

26. Guru Nanak Dev flanked by Bala and Mardana. A drawing based on a wall-painting of the samadh of Baba Sarb Sukh at Jandali, a village in district Sangrur.

have survived that agent. Most of the themes are taken from Hindu mythology.

X. DISTRICT BHATINDA

82. The *Samadh* of Bhai Guddar Singh and Mai Rajji.[276]

The *samadh* of Bhai Guddar Singh and Mai Rajji, held in great respect by the peasantry of the nearby villages, is located at Dyalpura, a village on the Barnala-Jaito road. Guddar Singh, known for his piety and austere living, was one of the early occupants of the *gaddi* of Bhai Sahib Bagarian,[277] a priestly line among the Sikhs. He died in V.S. 1823[278] (= 1766 A.D.) but the *samadh* was built by the Jind State[279] after the death of Mai Rajji who died in V.S. 1841[280] (= 1784 A.D.). This does not take the usual octagonal or hexagonal pattern, but is a square-based structure, encircled by a wide circumambulatory path. The *chunam* plaster applied to the walls, though old, is still intact and bright. The murals that embellish the walls are small in size; no regular pattern or sequence has been adopted in depicting the theme. In the dome, however, this order is better established. Scenes based on the life of the Sikh Gurus and romantic tales of the Punjab, have been painted. Many panels bear captions in Gurmukhi script.

83. The Temple of Kalu Nath.[281]

The temple of Kalu Nath, revered by the Ramana sub-caste of Jat Sikhs,[282] stands at Nathana, a village situated a few miles north-east of Bhatinda. A square-based structure in two storeys and topped by a somewhat flattened dome, this was erected in V.S. 1941[283] (= 1884 A.D.) through public donations collected by Ramdas,[284] the then *mahant* of the temple. The dome is covered with metal and glistens in the sun. The square-based principal chamber is enclosed by a narrow circumambulatory path and houses a massive platform raised over the remains of Shri Kalu Nath. The inside walls, both of the room and the circumambulatory, are adorned with murals, executed by *raj-mistris*, who must have been employed to construct the entire temple. The themes vary, but a majority of them are religious in character.

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84. The *Samadh* at Talwandi Sabo.[285]

Talwandi Sabo in district Bhatinda, having a number of important Sikh shrines, is a place of considerable celebrity. Here, near the celebrated *gurudwara* Damdama Sahib, a deserted *samadh* stands over the remains of one of the descendants of Dall Singh,[286] a devotee of Guru Gobind Singh. Local evidence on this point was, however, not wholly clear. The square-based structure surmounted by a dome is built in a plain and unpretentious style. The interior is embellished with wall-paintings with unusually elongated figures. They are unfortunately in a state of decay, the recently sprayed film of D.D.T. having contributed its share to the damage. The themes taken are both Hindu and Sikh.

XI. DISTRICT PATIALA

85. *Shish Mahal* Patiala.[287]

The 130-year old *Shish Mahal* at Patiala, which houses some very fine mural paintings, was declared to be a protected monument in 1969[288] under the Punjab Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1964. Built at a cost of about Rs. 7 lakhs[289] by Maharaja Narinder Singh of Patiala in V.S. 1904[290] (= 1847 A.D.), the *Shish Mahal* is located towards the rear end of Moti Bagh Palace, former residence of the rulers of Patiala. It is a regal structure with a number of chambers and must have been a favourite building of the *rajas* of Patiala. The frescoes are inside a large chamber, about 45 feet by 20 feet, and cover, together with elegantly inset pieces of mirrors which give the *Shish Mahal* its name, almost the entire wall space. Although the greater part of the painting is in the form of floral sprays and arabesques, these decorations ultimately form frames for more than a hundred panels of frescoes which constitute the chief embellishment. The picturesque chamber is remarkable for the profusion and excellence of these murals, which are very well preserved. These have been described as being among the best frescoes in the north of India.[291] In their themes the paintings are spread over the *Bhagavata Purana*, isolatad scenes from the Radha Krishna story, the ten incarnations of Vishnu, the *nayak-nayika* classification, the *bara-masa* poetry and the *Ragamala*. As a result of the *Shish Mahal* being in a building attached to the National Institute of Sports for some years, the sum of Rs. 54,000, sanctioned by the Punjab Government[292] for the preservation of murals could not unfortunately be put to good use. The walls of the painted chambers are developing cracks and the floor is damaged.[293]

86. The *Rani Mahal*.[294]

A portion consisting of a few chambers built over the eastern bastion of Nabha Fort, is referred to as the *Rani Mahal*. The apartments, built at the top, were obviously secluded rooms meant for the exclusive use of the ladies of the royal household; hence the name *Rani Mahal*, the 'Palace of Queens'. The entrance to it is through a wooden gate carved with figures of deities and there are elegant murals inside on the walls. A great part of the painting takes the form of floral decoration, but there is figurative work also. No clear clue as to the date of the work is available but the paintings vary likely belong to the third quarter of the 19th century. Some of the themes depart from the stock repertoire of 19th century painters. Some paintings with erotic scenes are conspicuous.

87. *Diwankhana Kadim*.[295]

After crossing the gateway of *Qila* Mubarak at Patiala, one sees a building on the left, inside which is an old or *Kadim Diwankhana*. Although *Qila* Mubarak was built by Baba Ala Singh in 1763 A.D.,[296] the *Diwankhana* is a later construction, said to have been built by Maharaja Narindra Singh[297] who ruled from 1846 to 1862 A.D. There is a large alcove in the back wall of the room where the Maharaja used to sit in state. This recess has a great deal of very skilled stucco and sgraffito ornamentation. The alcove was also embellished with some murals, still fairly intact. Miniatures painted on paper and framed in glass have also been so inset here in the walls that they form a part of the wall surface.

88. The *Samadh* of Raja Jaswant Singh.[298]

Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Nabha, died on May 22, 1840.[299] His *samadh*, beautifully

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built in marble, stands in Shyam Bagh, behind the present hostels of Nabha Public School. The splendid structure stands inside a square enclosure, entered through an imposing gate and a small *deorhi*. The *samadh* rises on a marble platform with marble balustrades. The centre, where lies buried the remains of the Maharaja, forms a square with columns, thus giving the monument the air of a *baradari*. An octagonal structure forming the second-storey projects upwards from the centre and is surmounted by a campaniform dome. The ceiling is decorated with tracery and stucco, and is inlaid with frangments of mirrors. A narrow frieze skirting the ceiling, was originally intended to be covered with wall-paintings with very small figures. Unfortunately the work was left unfinished leaving only with drawings, left uncoloured but of unusual interest to us.

89. The Nirankari *Dera*.[300]

This *dera* is located behind the Medical College at Patiala and its structure offers a striking contrast to the modern buildings of the college. Built entirely of small brick, it has a number of chambers, spread over a considerable expanse of land. Both the ends of the lengthy front wall of the *dera* are topped by umbrella-shaped domes, and contribute to the dignity of its appearance. Inside, on the second storey, stands an imposing *samadh* over the remains of Sarju Das, the founder of the Nirankari branch[301] of *bairagi sadhus*, who died in V.S. 1899[302] (= 1842 A.D.). In the centre of the octagonal *samadh*, is an octagonal cella, with a life-sized image of Sarju Das. The interior of the cella as well as the walls that constitute the circumambulatory are decorated with paintings pertaining mostly to Hindu themes, and in a very good state of preservation. The inside of the *chhatris* is also adorned with murals.

90. The Temple of Bhuri Mai.[303]

The temple commemorating to Bhuri Mai stands within a wide courtyard, just behind the celebrated temple of Kali Mai at Patiala. This imposingly built shrine is devoid of any mural embellishments; however, one of the many rooms built around the courtyard and attached to the temple, bears mural paintings on its walls. The themes represented illustrate the *Devi-Mahatmya* from the *Markandeya-Purana*. Owing to the plaster of the walls peeling off the murals are badly damaged. Not one of the painted panels is entirely intact. In the room also are a number of partly broken sculptured figures of the goddess. The room is in the custody of the officials of *dharmarth* of Patiala and stays always locked.

91. The Shiv Puri Temple.[304]

Adjacent to Samana Darwaza in Patiala, stands the temple dedicated to Shiva, locally known as Shiv Puri. Based on a square plan with a portico supported on columns, the temple is quite simple in form. It is said to have been built in V.S. 1894[305] (= 1837 A.D.) by Maharaja Karam Singh (1798–1845) of Patiala. All the space on the walls of the temple was originally adorned with murals, but most of these, except those on the upper portions of the interior, could be seen now. The paintings are executed in miniature, inside individual rectangular frames, with borders to imitate small alcoves. A mixed variety of themes is to be seen, but nothing is directly concenrned with Shiva.

XII. THE UNION TERRITORY OF CHANDIGARH

92. The Temple of Mansa Devi.[306]

Not far from the town of Manimajra near Chandigarh, is the celebrated temple dedicated to Mansa Devi, widely known for the fair that is held here in the *navaratras*.[307] The temple built upon a hillock and approached by a long flight of stairs, has more a Mohammedan than a Hindu look due to its onion-shaped domes and several superstructures imitating minarets. The main gate is embellished with decorative pattern and there is an inscription on its intrados recording the date of its construction: this was started in V.S. 1868 (= 1811 A.D.) and completed in V.S. 1872 (= 1815 A.D.) at the expense of Raja Gopal Singh of Manimajra. The shrine proper stands on a square base with a porch in the front and a circumambulatory path encircling

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it. The entire length of the walls constituting the circumambulatory path and the porch ere embellished with murals, many pannels being in a fair state. The ceiling too is decorated with floral designs. The walls of other structures which are a part of the temple complex were also originally adorned with mural paintings, but all these have unfortunately disappeared under layers of whitewash.[308]

93. Tha Manimajra Fort.[309]

In the town of Manimajara is a rectangular shaped fort with seven bastions, said to have been built some time in the late 18th century, before the time of Raja Gopal Singh of Manimajra. The fort, now in ruins, is approached through a gate above which are a number of apartments once used by the fort officials or possibly even the Raja himself. These structures are now all in ruins but faint traces of murals that once adorned the walls are still to be seen. At one place, inside one of the bastions, a few panels of murals are in a state of good preservation. The panels are few, but the themes represented are interesting and cover a variety of subjects.

The Haryana

XIII. DISTRICT AMBALA

94. The *Samadhs* of Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das.[310]

Two *samadhs*, identical in appearance and standing next to each other, are located at Jagadhri, just outside the city on the right side of the road that leads to the nearby town of Yamunanagar In these are buried the remains of two brothers : Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das. The *samadh* of Lala Jamuna Das, the younger of the two brothers, as is evident from an inscription recording the death of his wife Rami Devi, was built in V.S. 1936 (= 1879 A.D.). The *samadh* of Lala Balak Ram was erected a little earlier. Both the *samadhs* built by the same masons stand on square-bases with bulbous domes surmounting them. Pairs of painted *dvarapalas* flank the entrances of both the *samadhs*. The interiors are embellished with wall-paintings, with themes from Hindu mythology. Painted in a distinctive style, the murals in both the *samadhs*, done in tempera, seem to be the work of the same painter. The murals are nearly all intact.

95. The Rajewala Temple.[311]

Adjacent to the *samadhs* at Jagadhri described above, is a shrine dedicated to Shiva and locally referred to as *Mandir Rajewala*. Since it was built by Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das, it must antedate their *samadhs*. The temple stands on a square base, has a *shikhara* of considerable height, and is fronted by a porch which too has a small *shikhara*-top. The inner walls of the porch as well as the temple have murals of religious themes. The style of the paintings in the temple as well as in the two adjacent *samadhs* indicates that they all are the work of the same painter-craftsman. The wall-paintings in the temple are in a comparatively poor state than those inside the *samadhs*.

96. The Digambara Jain *Mandir*.[312]

Built nearly a hundred years ago, a Digambara Jain temple stands in the heart of Sadhaura, a

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town in tehsil Naraingarh. After crossing a *deorhi*, one passes through a small courtyard to approach the *garbha-griha*, which is topped by a pointed *shikhara*. The walls of the cella as well as of the verandah that serves as a porch to the shrine, are embellished with murals, representing Jaina themes. A number of rooms built around the cella are bare of murals, only the ceiling being decorated with tastefully laid patterns.

97. The *Qila* Mubarak at Chhachhrauli.[313]

Within the precincts of the *Qila* Mubarak at Chhachhrauli, there stands a two-storeyed building, belonging to the last years of the 19th century. The architecture bears some British influence. The walls of the large courtyard in the centre of the building, have paintings representing birds and flowers, and some other themes.

XIV. DISTRICT KURUKSHETRA

98. Bhadra-Kali *Mandir*.[314]

This temple, dedicated to the goddess Kali, is one of the fifty-one *devi-piths*[315] of India and is among the more imposing religious structures of Kurukshetra. It is said to have been built in 1962 A.D. by Ganga Ram *raibari*,[316] whose descendants sold the *mandir* and its assets in 1919 to Kali Kamli Wala Panchayati Kshetra, Rishi Kesh,[317] that now looks after the temple. The general plan of the meticulously built two-storeyed temple is square, recessed twice at the corners. The square *garbha-griha* in the centre enshrines the image of Kali Devi. The upper portions are embellished with frescoes with religious themes and geometrical patterns within a wide frieze bordering the lower end. Around the *garbha-griha*, both on the first and the second storey, runs a *pradakshina-path* : the lower level has no adornment, however, the upper has murals with very curious themes.

99. The Temple of Bawa Sharwan Nath.[318]

The temple of Bawa Sharwan Nath, one of the most important and old temples at Pehowa, consecrated to Shiva, is also known as *'Chatur-mukh Mahadeva'* [319] It stands within the *dera* of the Pehowa-branch of the *'Dera* of Bawa Sharwan Nath Ji', located at Kurukshetra. Built in V.S. 1865[320] (= 1808 A.D.) it is one of the imposing religious shrines in district Kurukshetra. The square-based main shrine, with a lofty *shikhara*, stands on a high square platform, with four subsidiary temples at its corners. There are two portals with flights of steps, one each on the conjoining sides of the platform. The space between the subsidiary temples on the other sides is closed and is used by the priests. Its walls have some murals. The interior of the dome above the portico, built in front of the main shrine, is divided into eight panels, each inserted with a mirror in the centre, with the rest of the space bearing a painting each.

100. The Temple of Shri Ram Padha.[321]

Kaul, a village of considerable antiquity, is located on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road. The village has grown around a large tank having in its centre a *samadh* localy said to be of Kapil Muni. On the banks of the tank is a complex of temples, devoted to different Hindu deities, now mostly in ruins. Traces of mural paintings are still to be seen on their walls. Among these temples is a shrine, referred to as *Ram Padha Ka Mandir*, which appears to be more than a hundred years old. Consecrated to Shiva, the temple also used to house a charitable Sanskrit *pathshala*. The ceiling of its porch fronting the temple, is embellished with murals. The themes are Hindu and the state of preservation good.

101. The *Haveli* of Rani Chand Kaur.[322]

The *haveli* of Rani Chand Kaur, wife of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha,[323] stands at Pehowa. Rising three storeys high, the *haveli*, built about the middle of the 19th century around a rectangular courtyard, was originally a grand structure. However, most of its splendour is now gone due to negligence on the part of many families that now occupy it with their cattle. Most of the walls once had murals, but only a few panels on the outside of the wall, above the gateway, and in the inner rooms, survive now.

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27. Lord Krishna with milk-maids. A drawing based on wall-painting of the temple of Shri Ram Padha at Kaul, a village in district Kurukshetra.

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XV. DISTRICT KARNAL

102. *Shivala* Ek Onkar.[324]

Founded by Bawa Kirpal, at the expense of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in V.S. 1873[325] (= 1816 A.D.), the temple referred to *Shivala Ek Onkar*, stands on a mound that overlooks the surrounding country, close to Nighdu, a village about 10 miles west of Nilokheri on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road. Despite its plain structure the temple has an air of dignity about it, due to the considerable height on which it is built. The interior is adorned with wall-paintings, in an indifferent style, depicting Hindu themes and an interesting pair of '*mem*' and '*sahib*'.

103. The *Samadh* of Baba Mohini.[326]

Adjoining the Gosain *mandir* at Barota, a village located a few miles south-west of Karnal, is the *samadh* of Baba Sahib Mohini, who died in V.S. 1893[327] (= 1836 A.D.). It is a tiny structure with a porch in front and an entrance no bigger than a small window. The dome topping it is ribbed. On the inside are murals in a curious style showing somewhat stunted figures of Hindu deities.

104. The Shiva Temple in the *Akhara* of Bawa Sehijgir.[328]

Within the precincts of the *akhara* of Bawa Sehijgir at Karnal, is a Shiva temple standing on a five feet high platform, in the midst of the tombs[329] of many saints. The structure is based on a square plan and appears to be considerably old. The interior of the walls bear murals, painted within rectangular pannels and depicting Hindu themes.

105. The Shiva temple at Patti Kalyana.[330]

A Shiva temple, built in V.S. 1957[331] (= 1900 A.D.), with funds raised by public subscription, stands at Patti Kalyana, a village near Panipat. The square *garbha-griha* is small, but the temple itself is quite considerable, with the outer walls rising two storeys high and apartments above for the priest to lodge in. The outer wall of the entrance is profusely painted but original lustre of the colours is vanished. The inside is now all whitewashed, with only a few traces of murals visible.

XVI. DISTRICT BHIWANI

106. The *Diwankhana* of Chandar Sain.[332]

The house of Chaudhri Chandar Sain, known as *Chandar Sain ka Diwankhana*, is the principal building[333] of Dadri, a sub-division of the newly formed Bhiwani district. Chaudhri Chandar Sain was a high revenue official of Dadri, which formed a part of the Muslim state of Jhajjar, and built this *diwankhanna* in the middle of the 19th century before Jhajjar was taken over by the British to punish its ruler for disloyalty towards them in the mutiny of 1857.[334] The imposing edifice is approached through a huge wooden gate flanked by a high wall that encloses three sides of the courtyard in front of the *diwankhana*. In form it is a rectangular hall with an open front, supported on columns topped by arches, and with a carved wooden ceiling. There are small chambers forming balconies, the walls of which had murals with descriptive captions in Persian script. The themes vary, but a majority of these depict contemporary personages. The paintings are in a fair state.

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Apart from 106 places noticed above, there are numerous other places and monuments in which I saw scattered panels of murals painted during the 19th century and now in varying states of preservation. Here I am only listing them without going into any details.

DISTRICT AMRITSAR

1. Darbar Sahib,[335] Tarn Taran.
2. *Bunga* of the Kamboj *biradari* at Tarn Taran.
3. *Bunga* of village Sathiala at Tarn Taran.
4. Darbar Baba Buddha Sahib at Ramdas.
5. *Gurudwara* Bauli Sahib at Goindwal.[336]
6. *Samadh* of Baba Hari Gir at Patti.
7. *Gurudwara* of Shri Hargobind Sahib[337] at Manhala, a village near Patti.
8. The shrine known as *Baba Sher Shah da Darbar* at Ghariala, a village near Patti.

DISTRICT GURDASPUR

9. The temple known as *Pheru Shah da Mandir* in Mochi Bazar, at Batala.
10. The temple of Radha Krishna at Bhambari, a village in the Batala sub-division.
11. *Gurudwara* Baba Sri Chand at Jaurian Khurd, a village in the Batala sub-division.
12. *Langar* Sri Chola Sahib at Dera Baba Nanak.
13. The house of Lala Ayodhya Nath at Dhepai, a village in the Batala sub-division.
14. The temple at Chandu Nangal, a village in the Batala sub-division.
15. *Samadh* of Baba Mahesh Das at Pindori Mahantan, near Gurdaspur.

DISTRICT HOSHIARPUR

16. *Gurudwara* Shri Hajur Baba Sahib Singh ji Bedi at Una.[338]
17. The Shiva temple known as *Bhallian da Mandir* at Bajwara, a village near Hoshiarpur.
18. A Shiva temple at Bhunga, a village on the Hoshiarpur-Dasuya road.
19. The temple of Rajni Devi at Leli Khurd, a village about twelve miles south-east of Hoshiarpur.
20. The Shiva temple known as *Khatarian da Mandir* at Bajwara, a village near Hoshiarpur.
21. *Samadh* of *sardar* Baghel Singh at Haryana.
22. The temple known as *Ahluwalian da Mandir* at Basi Kalan, a village, a few miles south-east of Hoshiarpur.
23. A temple built in V.S. 1888[339] (= 1831 A.D.) at Dadyana, a village near Haryana.
24. The house of Shri Anant Ram at Tanda.

DISTRICT JULLUNDUR

25. *Deorhi* of the *gurudwara* at Sangh Dhesian, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.
26. *Gurudwara* Gang Sar at Kartarpur.[340]
27. The temple of Gosains at Alawalpur.
28. The Shiva temple of Lala Bhagat Ram at Alawalpur.
29. The temple known as *Sayalan da Mandir* at Bilga, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.
30. The temple known as *Banna Mal da Shivala* at Nawanshahar, built in 1867 A.D.[341]
31. A Shiva temple at Garhi, a village on the Nawanshahar-Ropar road.
32. *Dera* Baba Dhyan Das at Samrae, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.

DISTRICT KAPURTHALA

33. The *Jalao Khana* at Kapurthala.
34. *Gurudwara* Sri *Guru ka Bagh*[342] at Sultanpur Lodhi.

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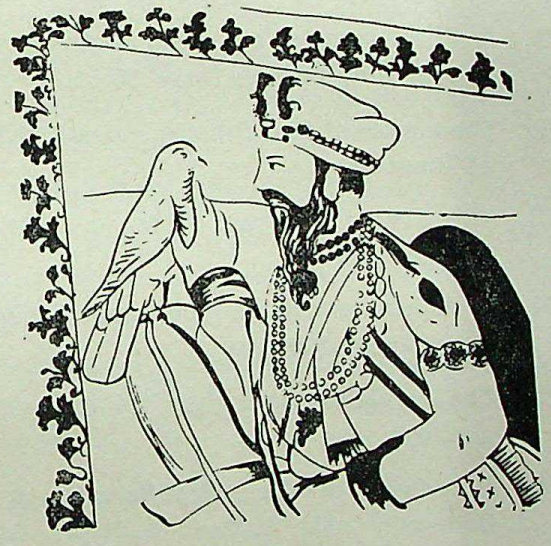

28. Guru Hargobind. A drawing based on a wall-painting of **Gurudwara** *Gang Sar at Kartarpur, district Jullundur.*

DISTRICT FEROZEPUR

35. The Devi temple near Bansi Wala Gate at Ferozepur City.

DISTRICT FARIDKOT

36. *Samadh* of Sardul Singh in Dera Kashi Puri at Daroli, a village on the Ferozepur-Moga road.
37. *Gurudwara* associated with Guru Gobind Singh at Gurusar, a village near Kot Kapura.
38. A Shiva temple at Kot Isa Khan.
39. The *Haveli* of Maghi Mal at Langiana Nawan, a village near Baghapurana.
40. Shrine of Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, a few miles west of Baghapurana.
41. *Samadh* of Bawa Ram Das in *Dera* Chappa Tibba at Seda Singh Wala, a village near Jaito.
42. *Dera* Mehma Sahi at Panjgraian Kalan, near Kot Kapura.

DISTRICT LUDHIANA

43. *Das Nam Ka Akhara* at Pail.
44. A Shiva temple at Khanpur, a village near Khanna.
45. *Samadhs* of the *sardars* at Khamanon, a village on the Chandigarh-Ludhiana road.
46. The *mari* of Guga at Bhari, a village near Khanna.
47. *Gurudwara* Gurusar at Lallan, a village near Samrala.

DISTRICT SANGRUR

48. The monastery known as *Dera Udasian* at Ladda, a village near Dhuri.
49. *Gurudwara* Chullha Sahib at Longowal.
50. *Samadhs* of the *Sardars* of Bagarian, a village on the Malerkotla-Nabha road.

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51. The Shiva temple known as *Nanu ka Mandir* at Bhadaur.
52. *Samadh* of Jai Gopal in the *Dera* of Atma Ram, near Malerkotla.
53. The temple of Shri Ram Chandra at Barbar, a village on the Sangrur-Barnala road.
54. *Samadh* of Maharaja Jai Bhag Singh at Sangrur, built in V.S. 1935[343] (= 1878 A.D.).
55. *Samadh* of Baba Nikka Singh at Barnala.

DISTRICT BHATINDA

56. *Samadh* of Jogi Pir between villages Ralla and Bhopalan in the Mansa sub-division.

DISTRICT PATIALA

57. The temple known as Bara Mandir at Bhadson, a village in the Nabha sub-division.
58. A Shiva temple in the monastery known as *Akhara Girian*, at Sirhand.
59. *Samadh* of Sukh Prakash at Chhintanwali, a village located a few miles west of Nabha.
60. The temple of Shri Badri Narayan at Bahadurgarh.

DISTRICT ROPAR

61. A Shiva temple at Sohana, a village in the Kharar sub-division.
62. *Samadh* of the *sardar* of Ladwa at Durali, a village in the Kharar sub-division.

DISTRICT AMBALA

63. The Shiva temple known as *Dhara Mandil* at Panjore.
64. The Jain Shvetambara temple[344] at Ambala City.
65. The Shiva temple adjacent to Naranjan Wala Talab at Ambala City.
66. The temple of Mai Ambe at Ambala City.
67. The temple of Shri Gauri Shankar at Jagadhri.
68. The *Diwankhana* at Chhachhrauli.
69. The *haveli* of Lala Krishan Chand, Samadh Gali, Jagadhri.

DISTRICT KURUKSHETRA

70. The temple of Shri Lakshmi Narayan at Kaul, a village in the Pehowa sub-division.
71. A Shiva temple adjoining *Sukra-kund* at Kaithal, built by Raja Uday Singh.
72. The temple of Shri Sthaneshwara Mahadeva at Thanesar.
73. The *Dera* of Bawa Sharwan Nath at Kurukshetra.
74. A Shiva temple in the area known as Pranchian at Pehowa.
75. The *Dera* of Bawa Darbar Puri at Ramthali, a village near Guhla.
76. *Gurudwara* of Guru Teg Bahadur at Bani Badarpur, near Ladwa, built by Baghel Singh.

DISTRICT KARNAL

77. The temple known as *Mandir Nihal Wala* at Karnal.
78. The Gangaji temple at Panipat.

DISTRICT SONIPAT

79. The *Chopal* at Jakholi, a village near Sonipat.
80. The temple known as *Panchayati Mandir* at Murthal, near Sonipat.

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DISTRICT HISSAR

81. The *paras* of *Panna* Khurd at Bas, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
82. The *haveli* of Shri Dhanpat Rai at Bas.
83. The house of Shri Baru Mal[345] at Sulchini, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
84. The *paras* of *Panna* Thela at Narnaund, a village in the Hansi sub-division.

DISTRICT BHIWANI

85. The *haveli* of Banarsi Das Mahajan at Dadri.
86. The *haveli* of Chaudhri Ramrik Singh at Lohari Jatu, a village on the Bhiwani-Hansi road.
87. The Ganga Mandir at Bhiwani.
88. The house of Sri Kidar Nath Bhagoti Prasad Aggarwal, *mohalla* Bhutan, at Bhiwani.

Listed below are some buildings and monuments in that part of Punjab, now in Pakistan, which have extant murals : [346]

1. The Lahore Fort.
   (i) Khwabgaha-Shahjahani,
   (ii) The Royal Bathroom in Jahangir's Quadrangle,
   (iii) *Daulat Khana-e-Khas-o-Aam* of Akbar,
   (iv) A pavilion in Jahangir's Quadrangle,
   (v) Shah *burj*, the long room opposite to *Shish Mahal*,
   (vi) Kala Burj,
   (vii) Roshani Gate.
2. *Samadh* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore.
3. The *haveli* of Maharaja Naunihal Singh[347] at Lahore.
4. *Samadh* of Maharaja Sher Singh and his *ranis* in Kot Khwaja Saeed, Sheranwala, Lahore.
5. A *Baradari* at Akalgarh.
6. The *haveli* of a *diwan* at Akalgarh.
7. The Sheikhupura Fort.
8. The Sheranwali *baradari* at Gujranwala.
9. A Jain *mandir* at Gujranwala.
10. Hari Singh's *haveli* at Gujranwala.
11. *Gurudwara* Panja Sahib at Hasan Abdal.
12. Nankana Sahib and its *gurudwaras*.
13. *Samadh* of Baba Phola Singh at Pir Sabak near Noshera.
14. The Jogun Shah *gurudwara* at Peshawar.
15. *Samsan Bhoomi, a gurudwara* about five miles from Multan near water tank.
16. Many Sikh *havelis* at Bhera in district Sargodha.
17. A Sikh *haveli* at Dhudyal, a village near Chuha Saidan Shah, in district Jhelum.

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1. *Indian Architecture*, I, p. 2.
2. "Ancient Period : Archaeology in the Punjab", *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957. p. 7.
3. "Ancient Period : Archaeology in the Punjab", *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 7. Excavations at Taxila have revealed that plastic ornamentation of the Buddhist monasteries of Gandhara were often brilliantly coloured, see Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, I, pp. 32-34.
4. See S.M. Ikram and Percival Spear (ed.) *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, p. 63; wherein S. Amjad Ali citing historian Taj Reza, writes : "That mural painting was much patronized even by the earliest Muslim rulers in the north is confirmed by a glimpse of Delhi under Iltutmish (1210-1236 A.D.), given by the historian Taj Reza, who describes mural decorations there, including a large portarit of the Sultan which were made to adorn the streets of Delhi on the visit of the envoy of Caliph Mustansinbillah in 1224".
5. See H.M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, III, p. 382.
6. S.M. Ikram and Percival Spear (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 64.
7. See Alexander Rogers (tr.), *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, II*, pp. 161-162.
8. See William Finch's account in W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 162-164.
9. See *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies*, pp. 2-3; also see *List of some Ancient and other Native Architectural Buildings in India*, p. 11.
10. Alexander Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.*, for years 1862-65, II, p. 211.
11. See *List of some Ancient and other Native Architectural Buildings in India*, p. 9.
12. Early examples are to be found on the tombs of Rokin-i-Alam and Bhawal Hak at Multan built during the reign of the Slave and the Khilji rulers respectively, see Alexander Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.*, 1872-73, V, pp. 132-33. The mosque of Wazir Khan, erected in 1634 A.D., is the most beautiful and impressive among the Lahore monuments adorned with glazed tiles, see Fred. H. Andrews, "Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore", *J.I.A.*, X, 1903, pp. 29-30
13. J. Ph. Vogel, "Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort," *J.I.A.* XIV, Jan. 1911, p. 1.
14. J.L. Kipling, "The Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore", *J.I.A.*, No. 19, July 1887, p. 18.
15. For instance, the Mosque of Mariam Zamani; see R.E.M. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, p. 83.
16. See *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies*, pp. 4-5.
17. A few fragments of murals that still survive in this temple, indicate that these were the work of a master hand.
18. *Ferozepur D.G. 1915*, p. 47.
19. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 522.
20. There must have been several other monuments embellished with murals in the 18th century. For instance, Dr. Ganda Singh, interviewed at Patiala, recalled having seen 18th century portraits of Sikh *Misal* chiefs, including Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, among the murals of Bal Leela Gurudwara at Nankana Sahib, built in 1751 or 1752 A.D. Later on the shrine was demolished for a new structure to be erected over there.
21. J. Ph. Vogel, "The Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad", *J.I.A.*, X, No. 85, Jan. 1904, p. 39.
22. *The Land of Five Rivers* (Pb. Admin. Report, 1921-22), I, p. 247.
23. "The Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad", *J.I.A.*, X, No. 85, Jan. 1904, p. 39.
24. Basti Ram was the teacher of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His *Dharmsala* at Lahore was also painted with frescoes; see Roopa Krishna, "Some Fresco Paintings in the Lahore Fort", *Rupam*, Nos. 27-28, Oct. 1926, p. 87.
25. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies*, pp. 6-7.
26. *An Account of the Kingdom of Cabul*, p. 49.
27. An inscription on the intrados of the main gate to this temple records its construction to have started in V.S. 1868 (= 1811 A.D.) and completed in V.S. 1872 (= 1815 A.D.).
28. "Some Fresco Paintings in the Lahore Fort", *Rupam*, Nos. 27-28, Oct. 1926, pp. 86-88.
29. I regret the attitude of the Govt. of Pakistan for not allowing the University of Punjab, Lahore, to send me the microfilm copies of two theses pertaining to my topic of research. Attempt was made to collect information through correspondence made with (1) Deptt. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan; (2) Prof. and Head, Deptt. of Fine Art, University of the Punjab, Lahore; (3) National College of Arts, Lahore; (4) Muhammad

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Wali Ullah Khan, 26. Hearne Road, Krishna Nagar, Lahore.

30. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies, pp. 4-5.*

31. Dr. Ganda Singh told me in an interview on June 30, 1972, about the murals that the original shrine had on its walls.

32. See Giani Nahar Singh, *Panja Sahib da Itihas* (P), p. 65.

33. *Ibid.*

34. The interior of the new double storeyed building of this *gurudwara* was also painted with frescoes; see Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, *Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan*, p. 17.

35. Bhan Singh, "Art of the Golden Temple", *Advance*, XI, No. 3, July-Sept. 1964, p. 46.

36. See *Amritsar D.G. 1892-93*, p. 113; Bhan Singh, *loc. cit*, pp. 46-47; J.L. Kipling, "The Industries of the Punjab", *J.I.A.*, No. 23, July 1888, p. 62; *Chatrik Abhinandan Granth* (P), p. 111.

37. See Harinder Singh Roop, *Sikh Te Sikhi* (P), p. 52.

38. The number of Hindu temples I came across, the murals wherein disappeared in this way, is too large to be listed here.

39. "Art of Chamba", *Art and Letters*, XXV, No. 2, 1951, p. 46.

40. For instance, the Shivala of Bana Lal at Nawanshahar, visited by me on June 19, 1971, was whitewashed hardly a fortnight ago and the layer of whitewash being thin, the paintings were still visible on the walls.

41. See Swami Dharma Teerthaji, *The Menace of Hindu Imperialism*, p. 234.

42. See *Punjab Govt. Records*, III, p. 4.

43. *Ibid*

44. See J. Ph. Vogel, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", *J.P.H.S.*, I, No. 1, 1911, p. 46.

45. See *Punjab Govt. Records*, II, p. 208.

46. See C.M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 207.

47. For example, the *mahants* of many religious establishments and shrines usually took me for a disguised informer inquisitive because of ulterior motives. Questions pertaining to the origin of establishment, to the time of the construction of its edifices and to its former *mahants* etc. were viewed with suspicion and my entry into the inner apartments was sometimes restricted. To cite a specific instance, my request to be allowed to see the inner apartments of the Nirankari *Dera* at Patiala was turned down by its *mahant* on the plea that there were no murals inside; however, when I managed to enter the said *Dera* with the help of an influential local person, I found inside a *samadh* profusely painted with murals. The *mahants* of many religious establishments that no longer had their *dharmarth* grants and lands were often prepared neither to allow me to see the interiors of the edifices of their establishments, nor to be interviewed. In the *Dera* of Balram at Barnala, I was even manhandled by the *mahant's* men for entering a *samadh* adjacent to the said *Dera* and saved my photographic equipment from damage with some difficulty. To document extant remains of mural paintings in secular buildings was on occasions an even harder job than was the case with religious buildings. Many people did not cooperate because they thought mine to be a worthless pursuit. Some conservative people only hesitatingly allowed me to see the interiors of their houses.

48. With the fall of a portion of a wall in the old *haveli* of Sandhanwalia Sardars at Raja Sansi, in December 1971, a number of murals I had seen earlier on June 10, 1971, disappeared.

49. Visited on June 11, 1971.

50. See Giani Gian Singh, *Twarikh Sri Amritsar* (P), p. 173.

51. *Ibid.* p. 174; it is also evident from the inscription above the main gate of the *akhara*, inscribed both in Punjabi and Hindi.

52. Visited on June 10, 1971.

53. For the role of Sandhanwalia Sardars as serious patrons of art, see B.N. Goswamy, *Painters at the Sikh Court*, pp. 11-12.

54. Visited on June 13, 1971.

55. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature* (P), p. 658; J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 234-235.

56. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 658; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 33.

57. As told by Makhan Singh, the *granthi* of this *gurudwara*. The *dharmarth*, although considerably curtailed is still on its name.

58. Visited on June 14, 1971.

59. The high glaze of the plaster unfortunately made it impossible for me to take satisfactory photographs with a flashlight since the light bounced back so much.

60. Visited on June 8, 1971.

61. Michal Edwardes, *Indian Temples and Palaces*, p. 147.

62. See *Amritsar D.G. 1892-93*, p. 157; Giani Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

63. Different dates for its erection have been suggested: thus 1628 A.D. is given in *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies*, pp. 2-3; 1798 A.D. in *Amritsar D.G. 1892-93*, p. 157; according to Giani Gian Singh

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its first three storeys were built in V.S. 1807 (= 1750 A.D.), *op. cit.,* pp. 147-148; accoding to Kahn Singh Nabha, its foundation was laid in V.S. 1835 (= 1778 A.D.), *op. cit.,* p. 37.

64. These have been repainted these days without altering the original design.
65. *Op. cit.,* p. 147.
66. See my "Mural Paintings on Guru Nanak's Childhood", *Advance,* XIX, Jan-March, 1970, No. 1, p. 21.
67. According to an inscription this *tosha khana* was built by Mangal Singh Ramgarhia in V.S. 1933 (= 1876 A.D.).
68. Visited on June 10, 1971.
69. Also called *akhara* Chhatte Wala.
70. Giani Gian Singh, *op. cit.,* p. 180.
71. Visited on June 9, 1971.
72. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependecnies,* pp. 4-5.
73. Shri Ram Saran Das, the present priest of this temple, when interviewed, told me that these murals were painted immediately after the construction of the temple.
74. Visited on June 17, 1971.
75. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.,* p. 27.
76. Visited on June 17, 1971.
77. Parkash Singh, "Golden Temple, Amritsar; History, Art and Architecture", *Souvenir, 49th All India Sikh Educational Conference,* p. 25.
78. V.N. Datta, *Amritsar, Past and Present,* p. 175.
79. H.H. Cole, *Preservation of National Monuments, India, Golden Temple of Amritsar,* np.
80. *Ibid.*
81. See Giani Gian Singh, *op. cit.,* p. 65.
82. While some of the works wrought in gilded copper bear the date of its execution, none of the works purely mural in character, however, is date inscribed.
83. It has recently been repainted without altering its original composition.
84. See Hazara Singh Sodhi, *A History and Guide to the Golden Temple, Amritsar,* p. 124.
85. *Our Life and Travels in India,* p. 390.
86. *Op. cit.,* np.
87. Visited on June 12, 1971.
88. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.,* p. 29. According to Giani Gian Singh it was founded in V.S. 1845 (= 1788 A.D.), *op. cit.,* p. 176.
89. This was stated by Shri Narbada Nand, the present *mahant* of this *akhara,* in an interview that I had with him.
90. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.,* p. 603.
91. Visited on June 13, 1971.
92. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.,* p. 286.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Visited on June 11, 1971.
95. Visited on June 7, 1971.
96. This is according to Santa Singh, an elderly person interviewed by me at Matewal.
97. The inscription is obliterated and fragmentary; all of it is not legible, however the year of construction is clear.
98. Visited on March 18, 1973.
99. See K.C. Aryan, "Amritsar Murals", *Sunday World,* March 11, 1973, p. 6.
100. The year of its construction is inscribed on the lintel of shrine proper.
101. Visited on March 18, 1973.
102. This is borne out by an inscription on one of the walls of the *samadh.*
103. This was narrated by Shri Narinderijt Singh, one of the descendants of Sardar Lal Singh, interviewed at Kale Ghanpur.
104. Attar Singh and Chattar Singh were brothers. Attar Singh, the father of Sardar Lal Singh was the elder of the two.
105. Visited on March 18, 1973.
106. See K.C. Aryan, "Amritsar Murals", *Sunday World,* March 11, 1973, p. 6.
107. The year of its construction is inscribed on a stone above the entrance to the *garbha-griha.*
108. I saw here the work of scraping off the old lime plaster from the walls of the *deorhi* of this temple in progress.
109 Visited on Juue 15, 1871.
110. According to the information kindly supplied by the present priest, Swami Ram Das.
111. Visited on June 11, 1971.
112. For instance, Nirwan Santokh Das, the founder *mahant* of *akhara* Santokh Das of Amritsar, is depicted in one of the paintings.
113. Visited on June 14, 1971.
114. Giani Gian Singh, *op. cit.,* p. 178.
115. *Ibid.,* p. 179.
116. Shri Nam Dev, the present *mahant* of this *akhara,* gave this information.
117. Visited on June 13, 1971.
118. A *jagir* was granted to this *gurudwara* by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
119. This is according to information supplied by the present *granthi,* Shri Sundar Singh.
120. Visited on June 13, 1971.
121. Visited on June 14, 1971.

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Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

1 : Representations of Sikh Gurus constitute the major portion of themes pertaining to the Sikhs and more than half of the murals portray Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, the first and the last of the Sikh Gurus. Here Guru Nanak sits in characteristic meditative pose under a tree, with a rosary in his right hand and his back supported by a bolster. His perennial companions Bala and Mardana, the former a *chauri* bearer and the latter a rebeck player, attend upon him.

It had become almost a covention with the muralists to give to the upper edge of panels the arched appearence of an Indian style alcove, resembling 'tudor arch'. Visually, this, virtually altered the rigid geometrical shape of panels.

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Fresco panel from the samadh *of* Mahant *Mangni Ram, Amritsar.*

2&3 : Representations of the Sikh Gurus constitute the major portion of themes pertaining to the Sikhs. 'Their popularity as national saints of the Sikhs' as has been remarked, 'called for worship through pictorial effigies; if not in defined images'.

Murals representing Guru Nanak Dev flanked by the rest of the Gurus, taking oval or circular form, were painted quite often, but the theme portraying Guru Nanak in the centre with other Gurus flanking him so as to form a nearly straight line, seems to have come into vogue not earlier than the second half of the 19th century. The portrayal of all the ten Sikh Gurus sitting close to each other in a single panel was, probably, motivated from the fact of their having been in uninterrupted succession on the *gurugaddi*, the lineage of the *gurus*, and that it defied their historical time-scale was not taken consideration of by a painter of religious themes.

Fresco panel from Akhara Bala Nand, Amritsar.

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4

6

5

Close-up views of a fresco panel from Akhara Bala Nand, Amritsar.

4, 5 & 6 : These are the close-up views of three Sikh Gurus from the mural panel reproduced on plate 3 and portray Guru Amardas (born 1479, Guru 1552-74), Guru Har Rai (born 1630, Guru 1644-61) and Guru Gobind Singh (born 1666, Guru 1675-1708). Perhaps the most important branch of paintings during the Sikh rule, was that of portraiture, but the portraits of the Gurus differed from the portraits of Sikh royalty and aristocracy, being mostly based on traditional accounts and not as paintings from life. In these portraits while Guru Amardas is depicted in three-fourth view, the other Gurus are painted in profile. A halo encircles the head of each Guru as a symbol of their spirituality.

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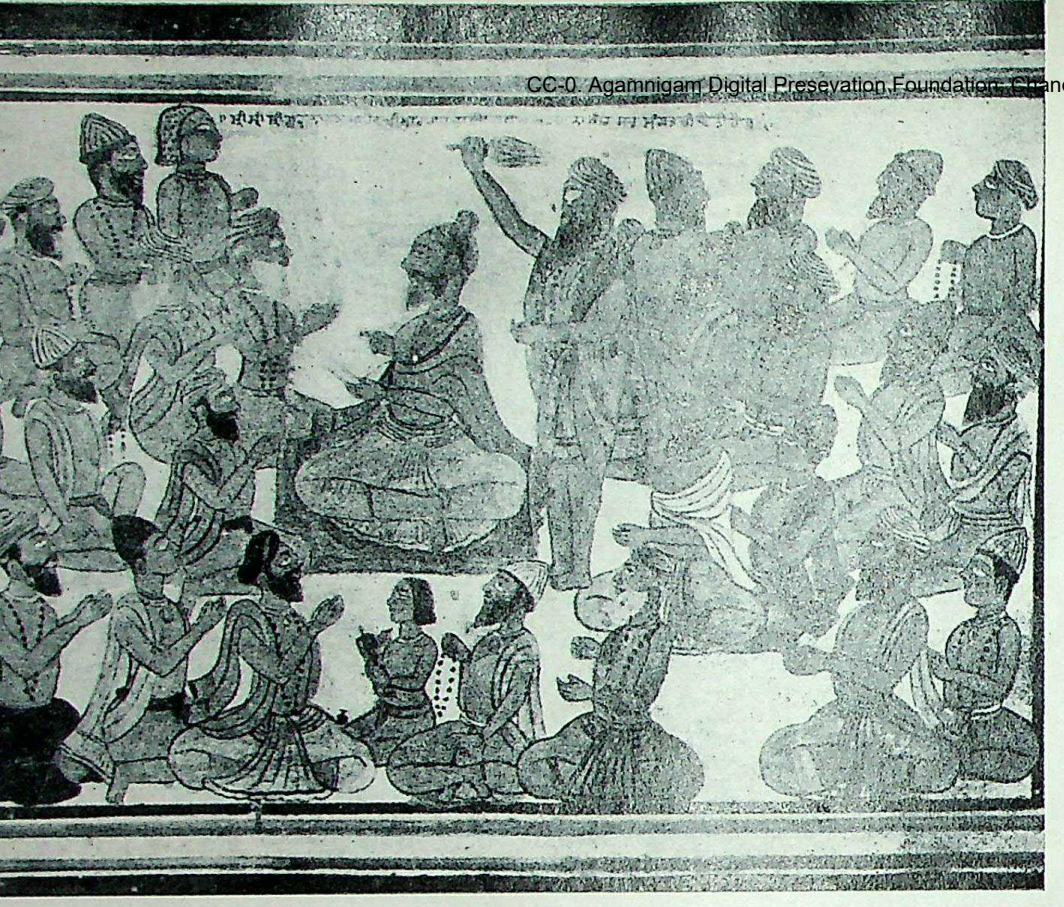

Mural panel from the Nirankari Dera at Patiala.

7 : According to an inscription on the upper part of this mural, it illustrates Guru Nanak with Bala, Mardana and the *sangat* or congregation. But the inscription seems to be misplaced, for neither the figure of Guru Nanak, nor of Bala or Mardana is to be seen as they often appear in the paintings. However, the possibility of the painter having taken exception to paint the Guru as an *Udasi* saint, the way he appears here, may also not be ruled out. Or this may be the work of a *rajmistri* who had little knowledge of the traditionally accepted figural pattern of the theme.

The faces of all the figures are in profile and the folk-art's delineation is evident enough.

Mural panel from the shrine of Baba Atal at Amritsar.

8 : This is a part of a panel that depicts the scene of the compilation of the *Adi Granth*. The five figures here are that of Kabir, Ramanand, Jai Dev, Pipa and Dhanna, all contributors of the Granth. Like the portraits of the Sikh Gurus, these portraits of the *bhagatas* were also probably based on traditional accounts. The name of the person portrayed is written in *Gurmukhi* characters above each figure. The contribution to the *Adi Granth* by these *Bhagatas* is : Kabir — 541 verses, Ramanand — 1 hymn, Jai Dev — 2 hymns, Pipa — 1 hymn and Dhanna — 3 verses.

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122. Prior to partition this village was in the Kasur sub-division of district Lahore.

123. Shri Harcharn Singh *Sarpanch* of this village, who descended from the families of Peshaura Singh and Bagh Singh, was interviewed. He stated that one of the *samadhs* was of Kanwar Peshaura Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who died in the said conflict. However, history does not corroborate this statement. *Kanwar* Peshaura Singh did join Bhai Bir Singh's camp but he was not killed in the conflict that took place in 1844. He was murdered at Attock in 1945. See Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 244; Khushwant Singh, *op. cit.* pp. 32-33, 38.

124. *Sarpanch* Harcharn Singh, interviewed.

125. Visited on June 9, 1971.

126. There are several *gurudwaras* built in the memory of Baba Bir Singh who was held in great respect by the agraian population of the Majha tract. See Cunningham. *op. cit.*, p. 234.

127. Visited on June 13, 1971.

128. Local tradition regarding *samadh* is also of no help.

129. Visited on June 13, 1971.

130. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies,* pp. 4-5.

131. *Granthi* Jit Singh and the local people told me that the old building of the *gurudwara* was profusely painted with murals.

132. Visited on June 13, 1971.

133. Visited on June 16, 1971, May 14, 1973, and Jan. 2, 1983.

134. Rai Krishan Chand Bhandari belonged to one of the eminent families of the Sikh Raj. See *Gurdaspur D.G. 1983-84*, pp. 40-41; Lepel H. Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, II, pp. 12-16.

135. The year of construction is mentioned in inscriptions in Persian and Punjabi, above the entrance door of the shrine.

136. Due to the earthquake of 1905, the gilded umbrella topping the *shikhara* is now tilted.

137. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Bhandari Temple and its murals at Batala" *Advance*, January 1977, pp. 16-18.

138. Visited on June 16, 1971 and Oct. 30, 1971.

139. See *Gurdaspur D.G. 1914*, p. 30.

140. See p. 31.

141. Visited on Oct. 31, 1971.

142. Damthal is now in Himachal Pradesh.

143. *Punjab State Archives and Archaeology and Museum—Administrative Report*, 1964-65, p. 10.

144. As told by *mahant* Ram Das, interviewed at Damthal. For more information see B.N. Goswamy, "Damthal", *Marg*, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 33.

145. Visited on November 2, 1971.

146. For more information see *Gurdaspur D.G. 1914*, p. 27.

147. B.N. Goswamy, "Damthal", *Marg*, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 33.

148. *Census of India, Punjab——Fairs and Festivals*, XIII, Part II-B, p. 60.

149. *Census of India, Punjab——Fairs and Festivals*, XIII, Part VII-B, p. 60.

150. See B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, *The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, p. 19.

151. For detailed description of the themes see Karuna Goswamy, *Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting*, pp. 244-247.

152. See B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, *op cit.*, pp. 2-3.

153. Visited on Nov. 1, 1971.

154. *Gurdaspur D.G. 1883-84*, p. 37.

155. This was pointed out to me by Shri Pariharan Singh, one of the descendants of Raja Sahib Dayal.

156. Visited on Oct. 30, 1971.

157. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 486.

158. *Gurdaspur D.G. 1983-84*, p. 98.

159. *Ibid.*

160. *Ibid.*

161. *Ibid.*

162. *Gurdaspur D.G. 1914*, p. 29.

163. The year of completion is recorded in an inscription inside the shrine.

164. A photograph of the shrine reproduced in Kahn Singh Nabha's *Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature*, facing p. 486, records the paintings on the exterior of the walls.

165. The other one is the *Sarai* at Zira. In recent renovations of the *gurudwara* much, however, has been changed.

166. Visited on June 16, 1971.

167. It is also known as Mandeana Temple.

168. This is evident from the inscription above the entrance to the shrine.

169. This is the same family that built another temple in the town of Batala, described at serial No. 27 of this chapter.

170. Visited on June 16, 1971.

171. I was given this information by Shri Kishori Lal, interviewed at Fategarh Churian.

172. Visited on June 7, 1971.

173. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

174. Visited on Nov. 1, 1971.

175. As narrated by Shri Gurdev Mall, one of the devotees of this *gurudwra*, interviewed at Sri Hargobindpur.

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176. Sri Hargobindpur is the centre of Satkartarian sect; see Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
177. Visited on Oct. 30, 1971.
178. This information was given by Shri Pritam Dass of Achal Batala.
179. Visited on June 16, 1971.
180. The date is written on the wall in Gurumukhi script.
181. Visited on Nov. 1, 1971.
182. There is a detailed inscription in Persian script over the door of the temple giving the date of construction.
183. Visited on July 8, 1973.
184. Una now falls in Himachal Pradesh.
185. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 830.
186. Visited on Sept. 26, 1971.
187. *See Hoshiarpur D.G. 1904,* p. 78.
188. See *Punjab State Archives and Archaeology and Museum——Administrative Report, 1964-65,* p. 10.
189. Visited on July 10, 1974.
190. Visited on Sept. 27, 1971.
191. Visited on Sept. 24, 1971.
192. I owe this information to *Mahant* Jagdish Das of the adjacent Udasi *akhara*. However, he could not name the *rani* to whom this *samadh* is dedicated.
193. Visited on Sept. 27, 1971.
194. The date is inscribed on the front wall of the temple.
195. Visited on Sept. 28, 1971.
196. Shri Narain Giri, interviewed at Bhunga.
197. Visited on Sept. 27, 1971.
198. An inscription on the temple records the date of its construction. The reading of the year, however, is not beyond doubt.
199. Visited on Sept. 24, 1971.
200. Shri Jagdish Das, the present *mahant* of the *akhara,* interviewed.
201. Visited on June 6, 1971.
202. Shri Baru Mal, the grandson of Lala Chuhar Mal, interviewed at Nakodar.
203. Visited on June 5, 1971.
204. This information was furnished by Shri Bihari Das, the present priest of the shrine. Basant Rai Khosla was a *Tehsildar* in the state of Kapurthala.
205. Visited on Sept. 23, 1971.
206. *Akhara* Beri Wala at Amritsar, described at serial No. 18 of this chapter was originally a branch of this monastery. I was informed of this by Pandit Gur Narain, interviewed at Jamsher.
207. This is evident from the inscription above the main gate of the establishment.
208. Visited on June 19, 1971 and Sept. 4, 1971.
209. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 418.
210. *Ibid.*, p. 440.
211. *Ibid.*
212. See *Punjab Notes and Queries,* II, No. 15, Dec. 1884, p. 49.
213. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit., p.* 440.
214. Visited on June 7, 1971.
215. Visited on Sept. 4, 1971.
216. Visited on Sept. 24, 1971.
217. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 707.
218. Visited on June 7, 1971.
219. Visited on June 5, 1971.
220. Visited on June 19, 1971.
221. Visited on June 7, 1971.
222. See *Jullundur D.G. 1904,* p. 290.
223. Visited on June 6, 1971
224. Visited on April 28, 1971.
225. This information was given by Inder Kumar Sharda, great-grandson of Seth Baldev Das.
226. Visited on July 6, 1969.
227. H.A. Rose (ed.), *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of Punjab,* I, p. 114.
228. *Ibid.*
229. Shri Satya Pal Jain, interviewed at Zira.
230. Visited on July 6, 1969.
231. Shri Satya Pal Jain, interviewed at Zira.
232. Visited on Nov. 8, 1970.
233. Visited on April 28, 1971.
234. Visited on Oct. 5, 1969.
235. The date is inscribed above the gateway of the temple.
236. Visited on April 28, 1971.
237. Visited on Oct. 10, 1970.
238. See H.A. Rose (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, p. 714.
239. *Ferozepur D.G. 1915,* p. 47.
240. See Griffin, *op. cit.*, I, p. 234; cf. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-316.
241. Griffin, *op. cit.*, I, p. 234.
242. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
243. *Ibid.*
244. Visited on Oct. 14, 1970.
245. *Ferozepur D.G. 1915,* p. 47; a Persian inscription in one of the small niches of the building, though partly obliterated,

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corroborate this date. According to the *Punjab District Census Handbook No. 12, Ferozepur District*, p. 105, the *Mari* is 500 years old.

246. See H.A. Rose (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, pp. 282-83.
247. See *Census of India 1961, XIII, Punjab, Part VII-B, Fairs and Festivals*, p. 504.
248. Shri Amar Singh, interviewed at Mari vividly recalled the Murals he had seen on the outer walls some forty years ago.
249. Visited on Sept. 7, 1969.
250. The original inscription that recorded this date was covered in 1934 during repairs. However, the date was rewritten above the main door to the shrine. Also see *Ferozepur D.G. 1915*, p. 48.
251. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 477.
252. Visited on Sept. 7, 1969.
253. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 629.
254. Visited on Sept. 28, 1969.
255. Griffin, *op. cit.* I, p. 240.
256. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
257. Visited on Dec. 23, 1968 and Nov. 9, 1970.
258. The former Maharaja Harinder Singh of Faridkot, interviewed.
259. Mistri Gaura Singh of Faridkot who was one of the persons employed in the renovation work, supplied this information.
260. Visited on Sept. 22, 1971.
261. See Avtar Singh Lakhbir *Jiwan Moti* (*P*), p. 35.
262. *Ibid.*
263. *Phulkian State Gazetteer 1904*, p. 76.
264. Avtar Singh Lakhbir, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
265. Visited on August 15, 1971.
266. Visited on July 9, 1971.
267. Recorded in an inscription on the temple both in Gurmukhi and Persian scripts.
268. *Ibid.*
269. Visited on August 22, 1970.
270. See *Phulkian State Gazetteer 1904*, p. 78.
271. *Ibid.*
272. Visited on August 15, 1969.
273. *Ibid.*
274. Visited on August 15, 1971.
275. Visited on Sept. 11, 1971.
276. Visited on August 20, 1971.
277. Griffin, *op cit.*, p. 205.
278. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 783.
279. Kapur Singh, Ghuman (ed.), *Dina Kangar Survey Pustak* (*P*), p. 44.
280. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 763. The date of her death is given as V.S. 1848 (= 1791 A.D.) by Teja Singh in his *Sankhep Itihas of Bhai Sahib Bagarian* (*P*), p. 20.
281. Visited on August 1, 1971.
282. See Bal Mukand Das, *Janam Sakhi Kalu Nath* (*P*), pp. 176-232.
283. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
284. *Ferozepur D.G. 1915*, p. 48.
285. Visited on August 1, 1971.
286. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, pp. 418, 465.
287. Visited on Oct. 3, 1970.
288. See *The Tribune*, Dec. 25, 1969.
289. *Ibid.*; cf. Gurcharn Singh, "Historical and Cultural Background of Patiala", *Advance*, XIII, Oct.-Dec., 1966, No. 4, p. 35.
290. Sayyid Muhammad Hassan Khan Bahadur, *Tarikh-i-Patiala* (U), p. 464; *Phulkian State Gazetteer, 1904*, p. 202.
291. See *The Tribune*, Nov. 25, 1966.
292. See *The Tribune*, Dec. 25, 1969.
293. For more information on *Shish Mahal* at Patiala see Karuna Goswamy, "Frescoes in the Shish Mahal at Patiala", *Roopa-Lekha*, XXXVII, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 120-127.
294. Visited on Sept. 11, 1971.
295. Visited on July 5, 1971.
296. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 550.
297. Gurcharn Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
298. Visited on Sept. 11, 1971.
299. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 520.
300. Visited on July 7, 1971.
301. See *Phulkian State Gazetteer 1904*, p. 77.
302. Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 535.
303. Visited on July 7, 1971,
304. Visited on July 5, 1971.
305. I was told this by Pt. Sohan Lal, the present priest of the temple, who vividly recalled the text of the inscription above the entrance door of the temple which now is covered by layers of whitewash.
306. Visited on June 30, 1971.
307. See *Kalyan* (H) *Tirath Ank*, year 31, No. 1, p. 67.
308. For more information on this temple see B.N. Goswamy, 'Temple of Mansa Devi and its Frescoes", *Advance*, Vol. XII, No. 2 April-June 1965, pp. 31-36; "Some early nineteenth century frescoes and the painter Angad of Sirmur", *Arts Asiatique*, XIII, 1966, pp. 99-105.
309. Visited on July 2, 1971.
310. Visited on May 31, 1971.

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311. Visited on May 31, 1971.
312. Visited on May 31, 1971.
313. Visited on May 31, 1971.
314. Visited on May 29, 1971.
315. *Kalyan* (H) *Tirath Ank*, year 31, No. 1, p. 80.
316. The manager of the temple, Shri Babu Ram Sharma, interviewed at Kurukshetra, gave this information.
317. *Ibid.*
318. Visited on May 29, 1971.
319. See *Kalyan* (H) *Tirath Ank*, year 31, No. 1, p. 83.
320. The date is given in an inscription above the main entrance to the shrine.
321. Visited on May 29, 1971.
322. Visited on May 29, 1971.
323. See Kahn Singh Nabh, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
324. Visited on May 28, 1971.
325. H.A. Rose (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, p. 284.
326. Visited on May 28, 1973.
327. H.A. Rose (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, p. 286.
328. Visited on May 28, 1971.
329. See H.A. Rose (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, p. 286.
330. Visited on May 27, 1971.
331. Recorded in an inscription above the main entrance to the temple.
332. Visited on Oct. 7, 1973.
333. See *Phulkian State Gazetteer 1904*, p. 333.
334. See Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 486.
335. Although the building is old, its dome was cracked by the earthquake of 1905 and was rebuilt again and embellished afresh with murals. See Jagjit Singh, *Sankhep Itihas Sri Darbar Sahib, Sri Tarn Taran (U)*, pp. 30-31.
336. These murals were painted in the early 20th century.
337. According to *Punjab District Census Handbook No. 13, Amritsar District* (*Census of India 1961*) p. 124, this *gurudwara* is only 50 years old.
338. Una now lies in Himachal Pradesh.
339. Recorded in an inscription above the main entrance to the temple.
340. The murals were probably painted in the early 20th century.
341. The date is written on a stone affixed in a well of the temple.
342. The paintings were probably painted in the early 20th century.
343. The date is inscribed above the entrance to the *samadh*.
344. These murals have recently been painted without any alternation being made in the original compositions.
345. The murals appear to have been painted in early 20th century.
346. This list is based on information kindly supplied to me by : (1) Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, vide its letter No. 22/23/68-Arch., dated Nov. 9, 1968; (ii) Prof. Shakir Ali, Principal, National College of Arts, Lahore, vide his letter No. 5076, dated Oct. 15, 1969; and (iii) Mrs. Anna Molka Ahmed, Prof. and Head, Deptt. of Fine Arts, University of the Panjab, Lahore, vide her letter No. 2711-12-2-Art/4, dated Nov. 26, 1969.
347. See H.M. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, plate No. XVI(b).

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Chapter III

Analysis of Themes

Wall paintings in Punjab and Haryana covered a considerable range of themes. As is often the case, the subject matter and the form of art alike were derived by the artists from "selection out of the raw materials of myths and metaphysics as well as the contemporary environment...."[1] The themes on the walls of the Punjab and Haryana are all 'concrete' and can for the most part be termed as 'narrative'. Since the murals were closer to the masses than, say miniatures, an effort seems to have been made by the painter to paint what was readily intelligible. For, as Ananda Coomaraswamy said, "the plain man has no use for art unless he knows what it is about, or what it is for."[2]

Most of the themes came somewhat naturally from the stock repertoire of the artists; it is only occasionally that they ventured on subjects which were new and contemporary. But perhaps a fuller idea of the range of subjects treated by mural painters can be gained by considering, in detail, and as examples, murals from one or two representative places.

One such typical building for mural work could be the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali in Hoshiarpur district. Here there were, originally, no less than about 300 painted panels. Most of the panels in the shrine proper are now in a damaged state, but those on three upper apartments, comprising a portion of the temple complex, are relatively intact.

The most profusely painted apartment, measuring 24 feet by 10 feet, consists of ninety-four surviving panels. Out of these as many as eighteen paintings depict themes relating to Krishna, from his birth to his assuming of the *Virata Rupa* as revealed to Arjuna. There are eight panels pertaining to Vishnu. Five of these represent him in the form of Vamana, Parasurama, Narasimha, Varaha and Matsya *avataras*; a panel depicts the Gajendra *moksha* scene; in one he is seen in the female form of Mohini saving nectar from demons, while another represents him resting on the Shesh Serpent. Fourteen panels portray scenes from the two great epics—ten from the *Ramayana* and four from the *Mahabharata*. Four paintings relate to Shiva and Parvati, including their son Ganesha, and the Devi theme occupies two panels. Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra; the Sabha of Indra and 'Churning of the Ocean' have been

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shown in three other panels. A painting represents Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh—the three principal divinities of Hindu pantheon—in a single panel. One panel depicts scene from Yama's court in the nether world.

Eight miniature panels represent eight different *grahas* or presiding planets in a series, including Rahu and Ketu, a theme not often seen painted elsewhere in the Punjab. Two other panels show heavenly bodies including Surya and Chandrama riding on their respective chariots.

In this very Vaishnava temple, there are twelve paintings which deal with Sikh themes. Out of these two depict Guru Nanak, one Guru Gobind Singh and two Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Five panels representing Maharaja Sher Singh, Dhian Singh, Suchet Singh, Fakir Aziz-ud-Din and Rani Jindan constitute a series of striking portraits. Scenes of the Anglo-Sikh war and surrender of the Sikh armies occupy two more panels.

There is a series of seven portraits depicting, in chronological sequence, the *mahants* of the *gaddi* of Ram Tatwali temple. Two paintings relate to the legend of Gopi Chand and Puran Bhagat. At one place, a British official is shown receiving petitions from natives. Six *dvarapalas*, really much like sentries on duty, one each on the sides of the three doors forming the entrance to the apartment, have been painted. *Ragini* themes have also been treated twice in small-sized panels.

A mural illustrating a muslim theme, Shams Tabriz roasting fish in the sun, is of exceptional interest. There are two more panels which seem to represent Muslim themes, although they are hard to identify with accuracy.

To the south of this apartment with the themes just listed there is another chamber, also beautifully embellished. Thirty-four panels survive in it. Thirteen paintings depict themes of religious nature, many of these repetitive of themes painted in the adjacent apartment. However, there are new themes as well. These illustrate, thus, the birth of Sita, Rama killing Bali. Shravana Kumar carrying his blind parents, Kali Devi and Bhairon. Twelve panels cover miscellaneous genre themes including a lady feeding a parrot, a British army officer inspecting an infantry unit, a railway train, a lady writing a love letter, Gaddi people, wrestlers, acrobats, a hunting scene, a lady with a buck, an angel playing a musical instrument, and opium eaters.

Eight panels bear portraits of different personalities including Maharaja Sher Singh, Raja Gulab Singh and four *mahants* of the temple, the latter being shown on horsebacks. A *dvarapala* occupies one more panel.

On the western side is another apartment, smaller compared to both the chambers described in the preceding paragraphs. Although floral motifs mingle with figure paintings all over the temple elsewhere, the walls of this apartment are almost entirely covered with floral designs and creepers. The only exceptions are seven panels depicting the usual religious themes; two of these show past *mahants* of the temple paying homage to the image of *'Thakur Ji'* with great respects.

In the shrine proper at Ram Tatwali, the entire space on the walls constituting the circumambulatory path was originally embellished with murals. Now, however, there is very little to be seen, most of the paintings having become greatly damaged. Most of the subjects found in the circumambulatory path are close to those noticed in the three apartments, but there is also the addition of some new themes, both religious and secular.

Among new additions in themes can be seen Krishna stealing butter, moving a temple, pointing out the moon to Radha, and in *Hava-Lila* : a form of love-play in which Krishna and Radha exchange their attire. An interesting rendering of Rukimini's elopment with Krishna also appears. Themes illustrating Hanuman's adventures as in the *Ramayana*, along with other themes from the epic, cover a number of panels. A scene illustrating the 'unveiling of Draupadi' is the only theme here taken from the *Mahabharata*. Kalki *avatara*, Gaja Lakshmi and Durga are other Hindu themes not found in the murals in the apartments. From among the Sikh

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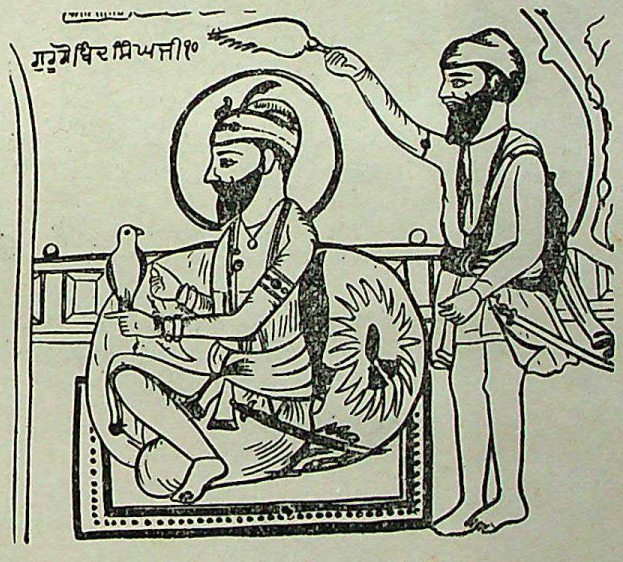
Gurus, Guru Gobind Singh appears here again, holding a falcon in his hand. A painting representing Akali Phula Singh occupies one more panel.

Genre themes constitute the most interesting part of murals in the circumambulatory path. They bear no relation whatever to the temple and form apparently a part of the general repertoire which the Punjabi artists had by this time developed. Here, thus, are depicted ladies at toilette, writing letters, fondling peacocks, spinning cotton, making skeins. We see a *nawab* of Lucknow, an European lady standing with an umbrella accompanied by her dog, and a Sahib standing with a stick in his hand. A few panels relate to the romantic legends of Mirza Sahiban as well as of Shah Bahram and Husan Banu. Akali Phula Singh and a number of Sikh chiefs occupy a few more panels. A Muslim theme with the devout Shams Tabriz appears also in this temple; in addition there is another Muslim theme illustrating crucifixion of Mansur-al-Hallaj. A number of *dvarapalas* in different forms appear on all the eight openings into the circumambulatory path of the octagonal based edifice, the intrados invariably bearing quaint figures and winged fairies.



29. Guru Gobind Singh with an attendant behind. A drawing based on a wall-painting of **Gurudwara** *of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad district Amritsar.*

Another building with mural work which can be seen as typical is the *gurudwara* of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad in Amritsar district. Here 120 panels were painted and all of these are still extant in a fairly good state of preservation. Out of these, thirty panels portray themes that are both Sikh and Hindu and all the personalities depicted are identified through Gurumukhi inscriptions.

Among the Sikh themes are seen portraits of the ten Gurus and a number of personages and *granthis* associated with this *gurudwara* : Baba Bir Singh, Thakur Khuda Singh, Baba Bhag Singh, Mahant Ram Singh, Baba Maharaj Singh, Baba Suraj Singh, Baba Bikram Singh, Baba Sujan Singh, Baba Khem Singh and Baba Kahn Singh. Other Sikh figures include those of Baba Budha Ji, Baba Atal Rai, Bhai Salo and two sons of Guru Nanak Dev—Sri Chand and Lakshmi Das.

Among figures from Hindu religion and mythology are to be seen portraits of Krishna, Rama, Lakshmana, Hanumana, Narada, Sukhdeva and Raja

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Janak. Four panels depict *avataras* like *Matsya*, *Kurma*, *Varaha* and *Narsingh*. The Bhaktas Kabir and Dhanna occupy two more panels.

There are ten panels depicting pleasantly illustrated birds : thus, parrots, pigeons, sparrows, sand-pipers, partridges, wood-peckers, herons (a paddy-bird) and several elegant forms of peacock. In six more panels are painted trees and bushes on which perch playful monkeys and squirrels. The remaining panels are embellished with floral designs of various descriptions.

There is no apparent or necessary connection, one thus sees, between the scenes painted and the two shrines referred to above. The paintings here form a part of decoration, not of religion; something that is true of nearly every edifice in the Punjab and Haryana with murals. An exception can be seen in the frescoes in Baba Atal at Amritsar. Their function is still decorative but more attention is paid to the nature of the shrine and the work done in it.

The frescoes here clearly stick to themes directly 'relevant' to the faith the shrine belongs to. In the '*deorhi*', there are large panels bearing murals illustrating scenes from the life of Baba Atal Rai and Guru Nanak; and various episodes from the battle of Muktsar. There are also two series of paintings, one representing the ten Sikh Gurus and another representing members of the lineage of Baba Budha Ji. Sri Chand and Lakshmi Das, sons of Guru Nanak, also appear. On the first floor of the shrine proper, a long sequence of paintings illustrates, step by step, the life story of Guru Nanak. The first painting in this series represents all gods requesting the Almighty to send a holy person to the earth to relieve it of the burden of *Kali Yuga*, and the last depicts Guru Nanak appointing Angad Dev as his successor to the Guru *Gaddi*. The sequence moves from left to right, like lines on a written page, in keeping with the physical progress the viewer is supposed to make while moving inside the building. Nowhere else does the life of Guru Nanak find so elaborate a graphic rendering as here. Another series represents Sikh *shahids* or martyrs, including the four sons of Guru Gobind Singh who laid down their lives for their faith.

30. One of the scenes from the marriage procession of Guru Nanak Dev. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Baba Atal, Amritsar.

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31. Radha and Krishna. A drawing based on a wall-painting of the Dera *of Baba Lalji at Dhianpur, district Gurdaspur.*

This quick survey would give one some idea of the range of themes and the way they are treated by and large in the wall-paintings of Punjab and Haryana. But a closer look at themes is necessary, not from the point of view of where what is shown, but what is shown at all.

Vaishnava Themes

Themes relating to Krishna were apparently so popular with the 19th century muralists of Punjab that, on a rough calculation every eighth mural panel was devoted to Krishna. This popularity arises as much from the popularity enjoyed by Vaishnavism as from the fact that Krishna was the subject of a vast amount of work in miniatures. There is hardly a legend connected with him that does not seem to have been depicted. Although a full sequential representation of the Krishna story is rare, collectively taken, the whole of Krishna *lila* is covered. Paintings showing Krishna as a child take us to his birth in the prison; Vasudeva carrying the infant to a place of safety across the Yamuna; the child being handed over to Yasoda; Nanda and Yasoda fleeing to Gokula with infant Krishna; Krishna crying for the moon; killing the serpent Kaliya, stealing butter, demanding it from the *gopis*, playing hide and seek in the forest with them. Krishna's childhood is perhaps best represented in the murals of the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala.[3]

As a youth we see him, as in the miniatures, portrayed playing with his youthful companions, the *gopis*, headed by his favourite Radha, ever entranced by the magic of his flute and maddened by his love. The themes commonly known as his *lilas*, with all their romantic and heroic associations, dominate the panels everywhere. Most of the paintings stem from the *Bhagavata Purana* in which the love of the *gopis* is treated as being symbolic of spiritual devotion. In the themes pertaining to the Krishna *lila*, the painters often found occasion to illustrate erotic poetry by representing Krishna as *nayaka* and Radha as *nayika*; the most representative of this kind of work appears in the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala in panels that illustrate verses from the *Satsai* of Bihari and the *Rasikapriya* of Keshavadas.[4] Nowhere in these paintings, however, is there the slightest hint of

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vulgarity. Krishna and Radha are seen on a swing, sitting on a couch of love, sheltering themselves from rain, standing under an umbrella, even riding a 'phaeton', carried by *gopis* interlocked in the form of an elephant, playing blindman's buff, quarrelling and reconciling, exchanging their attire as a symbol of love and identity, and merging themselves into each other. A mural panel in the Lahore Fort, now no longer accessible, represented Lord Krishna and *gopis* in a merry-go-round[5] or whirligig.[6] He was shown dallying with one of the *gopis* while the rest of them were beautifully depicted in forlorn mood expressed by heavines in their eyes. Although themes like this appear frequently, these have not always been treated with the same feeling which is to be seen in murals of Shri Palkiana Sahib near Jaura, a village in district Amritsar; the *dera* of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur in district Gurdaspur; the temple of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali and the Damthal monastery near Pathankot. Lively scenes from the Krishna legend also embellished the *haveli* of Nau Nihal Singh at Lahore.[7]

Among the sportive themes relating to Krishna, the most frequently painted are the *rasa-lila*, the *holi-lila* and the *Chira-harana*. In the *rasa-lila*, *gopis* bear the call of Krishna on his magic flute and gather around him. Having divinely multiplied himself so as to stand between every two of these damsels, we see him in the circle of *gopis* dancing his eternal dance. As in their descriptions in the text, we find them here with measured steps, movements of hand, their smiles, their dancing hips, heaving breasts, locks of hair covering their foreheads, knots of hair and garments loosened. A large painting illustrating the *rasa-lila*, also once embellished a wall of the Lahore Fort.[8] Several wall-paintings with the theme of *holi* are to be seen—the best of these being in the *samadh* of Mangni Ram and in the Raghunath temple at Amritsar; in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali and in the *dera* of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur. The cult of Krishna raised the seasonal festival of *holi* to a religious festival and it became the sacred *dole-lila*. *Chira-harana* or the 'stealing of the clothes' often excited great curiosity as an episode. Lt. Barr who always pleased with what he saw, was seemingly affected by one of the wall-paintings in the Royal Palace at Lahore, where he saw Krishna "perched up in a tree, from the branches of which depend various articles of dress he has stolen from some fair damsels who are refreshing themselves in a limpid stream below, and whose heads and hands, clasped in a supplicatory manner, appear above water beseeching him to return their apparel, but to no purpose...."[9]

In addition to themes referred to above several other themes on Krishna remained popular with the muralists. Among these, thus, he is depicted lifting the mount Goverdhana and, accompanied by his brother Balarama, in the act of killing Kansa. Several panels in the Damthal monastery, the Raghunath temple at Pindori and in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra, illustrate the abduction of Rukmini by Krishna. Paintings depicting him with Sudama, and with his later devotees like Dhanna and Sena, appear in the *akhara* of Bala Nand at Amritsar. His *Virata Rupa* as revealed to Arjuna is found in the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala and in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, the former being much the superior of the two representations. Among the Krishna themes, it would seem, themes with lyrical or dramatic content, were more popular than those in which his divinity was earnestly hinted at.

Rama's place among the themes relating to Vaishnavism in the murals of 19th century Punjab comes next only to that of Krishna. Rama is always seen as a god, themes about him, based invariably on the *Ramayana*, being suggestive always of divinity. A complete cycle of important events of his life appears in murals. He is depicted in the act of killing the ogress Taraka, breaking the bow at Sita's *svayamvara*, going in pursuit of the golden deer and killing it, shooting arrows at Bali, fighting with Ravana and killing him, and assuming his position as king of Ayodhya. A beautiful panel at Ram Tatwali depicts Rama's marriage procession in a way typical of a marriage procession of 19th century royalty. The only panel with the Rama theme among murals in the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala is worthy of special notice. It elegantly portrays the god seated with Sita on a couch attended by Lakshmana from behind, while Hanuman humbly sits below at his master's feet. Sugriva, the *vanara* king, with his army of monkeys, stands before the divine couple with his hands joined in supplicatory manner. The

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theme commemorates Rama's victory over Ravana. In the background is shown the island of Lanka with corpses of Ravana and his associates lying dead here and there, being consumed by vultures. The most extensively painted theme depicts the divine couple seated together on a couch in different graphic renderings, attended by Lakshmna waving a yak's fly-whisk or peacock-feather fan, with Hanuman standing or sitting respectfully before them.

Apart from Vaishnava themes on Krishna and Rama already described, there are other themes relating to this sect of Hinduism. Vishnu, the Supreme Deity, finds his place in several panels. He invariably appeais with four arms, reclining on the serpent Sesha floating on the eternal waters. In his four hands, he is seen holding a club, a shell, a discuss and a lotus, his familiar *ayudhas*. From his navel sprouts a lotus bearing upon its petals Brahma. Lakshmi, his spouse, massages the feet of her lord as a symbol of her devotion to Vishnu. This vision is to be seen in extant murals in *akhara* Bala Nanda and *akhara* Beri Wala at Amritsar, in the *shivala* of Hardhan at Matewal near Mehta, and in the *samadh* of Lala Jamuna Das at Jagadhri. In one of the frescoes at Damthal, Vishnu is portrayed sitting on a royal couch with attendants around. Murals at several places represent him in his various incarnations or his appearing on earth in several forms, each time as a saviour of mankind or as the destroyer of evil. The usually painted incarnations or *avataras* are *Matsya* or fish in which form he appeared in order to save the seventh Manu and the Vedas from the Deluge; *Kurma* or tortoise, the form assumed by him during the 'Churning of the Ocean' by the gods and demons to obtain the elixir of immortality; *Varaha* or boar, the guise assumed during his struggle with the demon Hiranyaksha; *Vamana* or dwarf who deceived the demon king Bali for the sake of mankind; *Parasurama* or 'Rama with the Axe' who delivered the Brahmins from the tyranny of the *Kshtriyas*; *Rama*; *Krishna; Budha* and then *Kalki*, the last incarnation which is yet to come at the end of the present *Kali Yuga* when Vishnu will appear rlding a white horse. The most striking of these *avataras* appears in the frescoes of *Shish Mahal* at Patiala.[10] A wall-painting in the *samadh* of Mangni Ram at Amritsar depicts Vishnu incarnated as half-horse and half-man, as *Hayagriva*, in the act of destroying a *rakshasa*. In wall-paintings in the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala, the *thakurdwara* of Bairagian at Attari, Shri Palkiana Sahib near Jaura and the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, Vishnu appears in the theme representing *Gajendra Moksha*. A panel at Ram Tatwali represents him in the form of Mohini denying nectar to the demons.

Saiva Themes

In comparison with Vaishnava subjects, Saiva themes find considerably less coverage in wall-paintings of Punjab and Haryana. Their fewer numbers are, however, compensated for sometimes by the conspicuous positions they occupy. Siva is often represented living in the Himalayas along with Parvati, sometimes in the act of trampling on or destroying demons, wearing around his neck a serpent and a necklace of skulls, and seen with white bull, Nandi, on which he rides, carrying a trident, a tiger's skin, a rattle, a noose etc. Many a time the divine couple is shown accompanied by their sons, Ganesha and Karttikeya. The theme representing Siva and Parvati in the act of preparing intoxicating potions like *bhang* appears frequently. His marriage illustrated in a series of panels is to be seen in frescoes of the shrine of Mansa Devi near Chandigarh. Four panels in the *shivala* of Ek Onkar near Nighdu in district Karnal, represents Siva bestowing a deadly boon on Bhasmasura and then destroying skilfully the demon who turned treacherously upon the bestower to kill him. The theme also occurs in the frescoes of the temple of Mansa Devi near Chandigarh.[11] A fresco in the *gurudwara* of Kala Dhari at Una portrays him as *ardhanarisvara*, fusing in himself the form of his spouce Parvati and thus appearing half-male, half-female. Shiva in his emanation as Bhairon or the 'terrible one' appears often in wall-paintings of Haryana. Outside the temple of Shiva at Thanesar, thus, there was once a rendering of 'Kal Bhairon', represented as black and holding a decapitated head in one hand.[12]

Shakta Themes

Representations of Shakti, the supreme power taking feminine form and incarnated under many

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names for the destruction of demons inimical to gods and men, are also seen among wall-paintings of Punjab and Haryana. The themes are almost invariably based on the *Markandeya Purana*, devoted to the glorification of Shakti as mother-goddess. About a dozen paintings in the temple of Mansa Devi near Chandigarh illustrate her in different forms[13] assumed for the destruction of the two giants, Sumbha and Nisumbha. A lengthy series in the murals in the temple of Bhuri Mai at Patiala represents the same theme even more elaborately, depicting her in as many as sixteen fights against the demons. Her deeds in the form of Kali are to be seen painted in the Bhadra-Kali temple at Kurukshetra. The exploits of the goddess against the buffalo-demon, Mahishasura, find impressive treatment in a fresco in the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala.

Miscellaneous Hindu Themes

In addition to the themes referred to earlier, several other themes, mostly derived from Hindu mythology, also appear. Among the Vedic deities depicted are to be seen Surya, Indra and Yama or Dharmaraja. The last being the god of departed spirits, judge and punisher of the dead, is invariably depicted in his court, assisted by Chitragupta. Scenes from Yama's hell, terrible with instruments of torture and fire, were seemingly of considerable interest. In the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala and in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali appear the most vivid of such scenes.

Besides themes relating to major deities there are to be seen themes relating to Brahma, Jagannatha, Kamadeva, Ganesh and Karttikeya. Brahma is often portrayed with four bearded faces and four arms, each hand holding a copy of a *Veda*. Representation of Jagannatha, with Balabhadra and Subhadra, appear at four places in all : in the *dera* of Baba Lal Ji at Dhyanpur, in the *gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari at Una, in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali and in the shrine of Baba Budha Ji at Teja, a village not far from Fategarh Churian in district Gurdaspur. Ganesha was usually depicted accompanied by Riddhi and Siddhi, flanking the god of good luck. Wall-paintings representing Karttikeya appear sporadically. The six-headed god, generalissimo of the armies of the gods, is depicted riding on his *vahana* or vehicle, the peacock, often holding a bow and an arrow.

Representation of Narada, Sukhdeva, Garuda, Gayatri, Sarwana, Vishvamitra, Janaka, Hanuman, Balarama, Usha and Aniruddha, constitute other Hindu themes. An impressive representation of Ravana, in a seated posture, is to be seen among murals of the *samadh* of Lala Balak Ram at Jagadhri.

Epic Themes

Themes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, the two great Indian epics, occur frequently in the wall-paintings of Punjab and Haryana. A number of themes from the *Ramayana* have already been referred to while describing themes related to Rama. Themes representing the Kauravas and the Pandavas playing dice, and the 'unveiling of Draupadi' appear to have been the most popular from among the *Mahabharata* themes. A great number of frescoe panels in the *thakurdwara* of Lala Churh Mall at Nakodar illustrate themes from the *Mahabharata*. Themes from the *Ramayana* as well as the *Mahabharata*, running into several panels, have found place among the wall-paintings in the *gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai.

Saints and Holy Men

Many murals representing saintly or religious personages have survived. Among these are to be seen *bhaktas* like Dhanna, Sena, Purana, Kabir and a number of ascetics related to Gorakhnatha, including Bhartri Hari and Gopi Chand. A panel in the temple of Shri Kalu Nath at Nathana, in district Bhatinda, interestingly, represents Mira Bai. All the *akharas* having murals invariably depict Shri Chand, the founder of the Udasi sect, seen almost nude and besmeared with ashes.

Sikh Themes

Representations of the Sikh Gurus constitute the major portion of themes pertaining to the Sikhs and more than half of the murals portray Guru Nanak and

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32. Gugu Hargobind with an attendant. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Akal Takhat, Amritsar.

Guru Gobind Singh, the first and the last of the Sikh Gurus. "Their popularity as national saints of the Sikhs" as has been remarked, "called for worship through pictorial effigies, if not in defined images".[14] From among the extant remains in the plains of Punjab and Haryana, the earliest rendering of Guru Nanak in a mural panel is from the late 18th century, in the temple of Shri Nam Dev at Ghoman in district Gurdaspur. By the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, representations of him became very much more popular, being based on traditional accounts.

Guru Nanak often appears accompanied by Bala and Mardana, the former a *Chauri* bearer and the latter a rebeck player to the Guru. Except in one of his portraits in the *Gurudwara* of Satkartarian at Sri Hargobindpur, where he is seen wearing a head-dress resembling a Mughal crown, he is shown with his head covered with a *topi*. Under a tree on which birds, mostly parrots are shown perching, he sits in characteristic meditative pose, not very different from how he is seen in many modern calendar paintings, his back supported by a round pillow, a rosary in his right hand, the left hand resting on the mat beneath. A typical example of this type of representation is seen at Ram Tatwali. Another important theme is the *Siddha gosthi*, Guru Nanak's religious discourse with the *Siddhas* usually representing Nanak facing the leader of the *siddhas* backed by a number of *siddha* ascetics sitting in their hierarchical order. The theme has been best delineated in *akhara* Bala Nand and in the *samadh* of Baba Khuda Singh at Naurangabad. Many a time he appears along with his sons, Sri Chand and Lakhmi Das, sitting respectfully before him.

Apart from many similar themes, there are lengthy series of murals illustrating in a detailed fashion his entire life based on tradition as well as on the large corpus of literature called the *Janam Sakhis*. The most representative extant series are to be seen in the *gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari at Una and in the shrine of Baba Atal at Amritsar, the former consisting of forty-one painted panels. Beginning with the birth of Guru Nanak, the first part of the series illustrates themes from the Guru's childhood consisting of scenes of the Guru attending school, disagreeing

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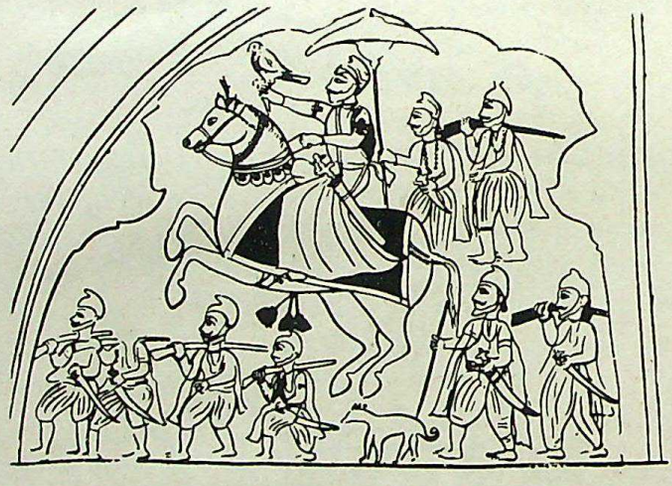
with his teacher's lessons on worldly knowledge, grazing his father's buffaloes and cows, feeding the poor and holy people and the like. As he grows up he is seen as a keeper of the government stores at Sultanpur; settling accounts with the Faujdar at Sultanpur; getting betrothed and married; and renoucing the world. Then he appears as a preacher meeting Malik Bhago and demonstrating the difference between the earning of the oppressor and those of an honest man. Further he is seen with the cannibal Kauda, with Kaliyuga[15] and Wali Kandhari, all of whom are made by him to relinquish their vileness. He is also depicted preaching to a legendary Islamic character named Karun and sleeping, while at Mecca, with his feet pointing towards the *Ka'aba*. The series in Baba Atal ends with the Guru's appointing Angad as his successor to Guru *Gaddi*. The series in the *gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari at Una also consists of a number of scenes illustrating Nanak's religious discourses with contemporary theologists. The old building of *gurudwara* Panja Sahib at Hasan Abdal, too, once had murals relating to the Guru's life.[16]

Guru Gobind Singh often appears on horseback holding a falcon and accompanied by a hound and a few attendants. The best extant murals of this motif, which is repeated over and over again, is to be seen in the *samadh* of Baba Dyal Das at Barnala and in the Golden Temple at Amritsar.[17] Guru Gobind Singh baptizing the 'Five Beloved Ones' is another popular theme and one of its representative examples still survives amongst the wall-paintings of the Akal Takhat. Paintings depicting him in a sitting posture with an attendant behind are also seen painted but not often. In one of the murals of *gurudwara* Gurusar at Bargarhi in district Faridkot, he is portrayed playing dice with Rai Jagga, the chief of Kotkapura. A mural in the *samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda represents Guru Gobind Singh along with his four sons.

Wall-paintings depicting other Sikh Gurus are not too many and when they are seen, they show the Guru sitting with an attendant behind, weaving a yak's tail flywhisk or peacock-feather fan. Well-executed murals on these Gurus are extant in the *gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari at Una, the *gurudwara*



33. Guru Gobind Singh on horseback accompanied by attendants. A drawing based on a wall-painting of the temple of Rajni Devi at Leli Kurd, a village in district Hoshiarpur.

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34. Guru Hargobind receiving horses from Bhai Bidhi Chand. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Akal Takhat, Amritsar.

of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad and Raja Sansi, the Akal Takhat at Amritsar, Darbar Sahib and *bunga* of village Sathiala at Tarn Taran, *gurudwara* Bauli Sahib at Goindwal, *gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai, *samadh* of Baba Dyal Das at Barnala and *samadh* of Baba Khuda Singh at Naurangabad. Scenes from the lives of Gurus were painted on the walls of a *dharm-sala* at Lahru,[18] a village in district Ludhiana. Paintings illustrasting interesting themes related to Guru Har Gobind also appear. One of the panels in the *samadh* of Mangni Ram at Amritsar beautifully portrays his religious discourse with Mian Mir. In the Akal Takhat, Bhai Bidhi Chand is shown presenting those horses to the Guru which he skilfully brought back from the Governor of Lahore after he had forcibly made off with them earlier.[19] A panel in *gurudwara* Pothi Mala depicts Guru Har Gobind blessing Mai Sulakhani with a son.

Wall-painting representing Guru Nanak flanked by the rest of the Gurus were painted several times, but the theme portraying all the Gurus in a single panel seems to have come into vogue not earlier than the second half of the 19th century. Typical examples are to be seen in the *samadh* of *mahant* Mangni Ram and *akhara* Bala Nand at Amritsar, in the *Shivala* of Hardhan at Matewal and in the *samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda. Among the paintings that embellished the walls of a palace at Wazirabad built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, were life-size portraits of the Gurus from Nanak, the first, to Gobind, the last according to Baron Hugel[20] who saw them there personally.

After the Gurus came, in terms of popularity, themes that depict Sikh martyrs who became victims of Muslim bigotry. The most prominent among them are Ajit Singh, Jojhar Singh, Fateh Singh and Zorawar Singh, the four sons of Guru Gobind Singh. They have usually been illustrated in action in the battlefield, and are best represented in a panel in *gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai. A number of other martyrs—Dip Singh, Nena Singh, Gurbaksh Singh, Kharag Singh—to name only a few, adorn the walls of the shrine of Baba Atal. Banda Bahadur,

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one of the most prominent leaders and martyrs of the Sikhs, has been depicted but once in the Darbar Sahib at Tarn Taran.

The themes portraying Baba Budha Ji are confined to murals seen in the edifices in the Majha tract. The whole of his lineage consisting of Bhai Sarwan, Jhanda, Gurditta, Gurbaksh, Mohar Singh, Shyam Singh, Kahn Singh and Sujan Singh also appear even if rarely. Two such series are extant in the Akal Takhat and Baba Atal. Similarly, in *gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai, a series represents the lineage of the Sodhi Gurus. Many other personages related to the Sikh religion also appear in murals, including, for instance, Bhai Gurudas in Baba Atal, Bhai Salo in the *gurudwara* of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, Bhai Mani Singh in the *bunga* of village Sathiala at Tarn Taran and Akali Phula Singh in the temple of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali.

Nihang Singhs form one of the most interesting themes in the murals of 19th century Punjab. Their way of life is elaborately represented in the paintings. They appear as *dvarapalas* or guards with drawn swords,[21] beating drums, riding horses and elephants, hunting, fencing, grinding leaves of cannabis Indica to make an intoxicating potion, and the like. Many Wall-paintings relating to them are extant in the *gurudwara* at Bargarhi, in the *samadh* of Rani Jind at Hoshiarpur and in the *samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda. In *gurudwara* Lohgarh at Dina are to be seen two most prominent leaders of the Nihangs: Akali Phula Singh mounted on an elephant and Nena Singh riding a horse, their names being indicated in Gurmukhi characters above their heads.

Two paintings, one each in the *samadh* of Baba Khuda Singh at Naurangabad in district Amritsar and the *samadh* of the daughter of Mai Hiran at Bhunga in district Hoshiarpur, depict Sikh *sangats* paying reverence to the holy Guru Granth Sahib.

Sikh themes are also to be seen in a considerable number of paintings connected, one way or the other, with 19th century royalty and nobility. In two paintings one in the *samadh* of Baba Man Singh at Sodhiwala near Zira and the other in the *thakurdwara* at Bagarian in district Sangrur, appears Maharaja Ranjit Singh followed by the royal retinue. The demolished *bungas* of the Golden Temple at Amritsar once had splendid paintings depicting important events of Sikh history.[22] In the Lahore Palace, a mural is recorded as showing the meeting of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with Lord William Bentinck at Ropar.[23] A mural in the house of Generals Ventura and Allard at Lahore recorded their reception at the Sikh Court.[24] There were also pictures of battles in which the two generals were engaged.[25] The tradition of getting walls painted with themes illustrating battles was apparently quite popular among the Sikhs. Houses of the Sikh nobility in district Lahore were embellished with fighting scenes relating chiefly to conflicts with the Afghans of the north-west frontier.[26] A painting representing the battle of Jomrood is mentioned as among those in the fort of Hari Singh Nalwa at Gujranwala.[27] The ceiling of Allard's bungalow at Lahore was painted with the emblem of Francese Compo or the *Fauj-i-Khas* consisting of the Gallic eagle and the tri-coloured flag writ large with the name of Guru Gobind Singh.[28] In a wall-painting in *akhara* Bala Nand at Amritsar appears Hari Singh Nalwa inspecting a long row of soldiers. Two adjacent panels in *akhara* Beri Wala at Amritsar represent Ranjit Singh and the 'Jangilat' on horsebacks, facing each other and followed by the Sikh and the British armies respectively. The Sikh and the British armies engaged in fierce battle consisting of many hundred soldiers appear in a mural in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali. Another painting in this temple depicts the surrender of the Sikh armies before the British.

Portraits

A considerable number of 'portraits', some based on life and others on imagination, mostly depicting 19th century royalty and aristocracy, are met with among the extant murals all over the Punjab and Haryana. In addition, there are references to portraits in written records which describe works no longer surviving.

Among the portraits, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's remains the dominating figure. In one of the frescoes in the Royal Palace at Lahore, Ranjit Singh was portrayed in the presence of Baba Nanak with his

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Mural panel from Gurudwara of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, district Amritsar.

9 : This panel in the *gurudwara* of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad portrays Maharaj Singh, Suraj Singh, Bikram Singh and Kahn Singh, said to have been close associates of Baba Bir Singh. In addition, portraits of Sujan Singh and Khem Singh also appear. These portraits, both in the front and the profile views, though given a somewhat stereotyped postures, nevertheless represent distinct facial identities, which clearly differentiate them from the category of 'type-portraits'.

10 : It was a common practice to embellish the walls of monasteries and religious establishments with the portraits of their *mahants* or priests, either painted individually or in group portraits. This panel of group portraits depicts the *mahants* of Akhara Bala Nand at Amritsar. Although it consists of several figures, the major personages are identified by their names written in *Gurmukhi* characters over their heads. These, from left to right, read : Baldev Prasad Ji, Mahant Tehel Das Ji, Mahant Bala Nand Ji, Mahant Braham Chetan Ji, Mahant Bishan Prasad Ji and Mahant Arjan Prasad Ji.

Mural panel from Akhara *Bala Nand, Amritsar.*

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Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

11 : A considerable number of portraits, some based on life and others on the imagination, are met with among the extant murals. Many of the figures represented were well known characters from history and, although treated ideally, the personality could be identified with ease. In the treatment of portraits much care was spent on the face than on the rest of the body. Thus, while facial expressions in several mural panels are remarkable, the hands, and particularly the feet, are carelessly drawn.

This painting portrays Maharaja Ranjit Singh seated in a chair while Dhian Singh, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, the Dogra brothers, stand with folded hands before their master.

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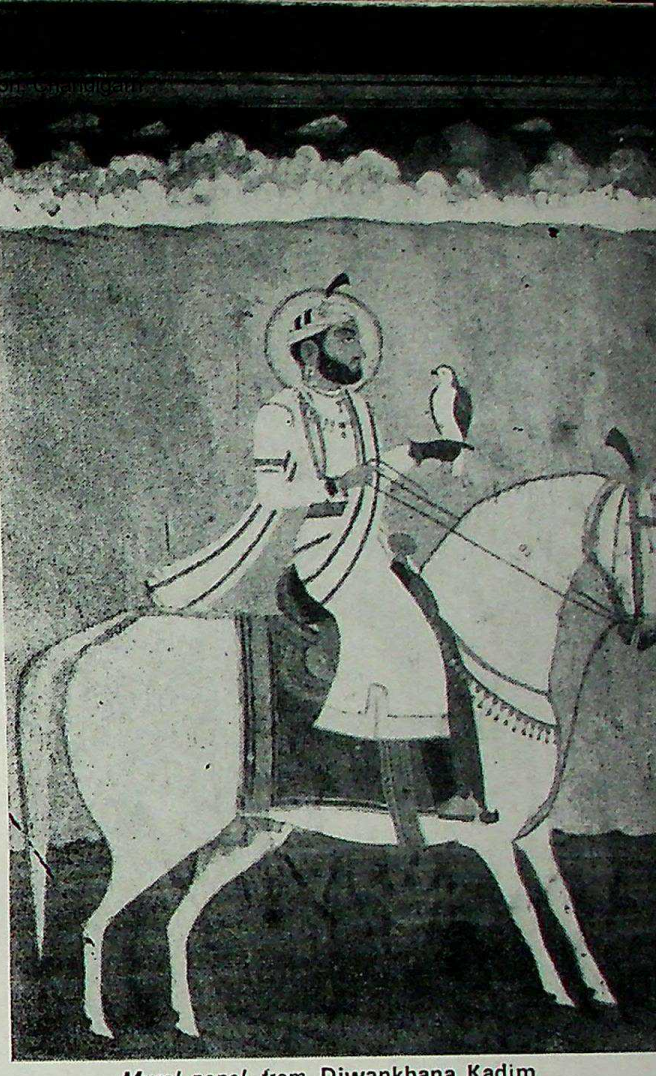
12 : In the cis-Sutlej states, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his *sardars* are replaced as themes by the portraits of local Rajas and chiefs. This painting portrays Sangat Singh, the Raja of Jind, on horseback. Although well done portraits in frontal view were not rare, the rule remained for portraiture in profile. In this convention, while the face was shown in profile, shoulders and body were sometimes viewed three quarter.



Mural panel from **Diwankhana Kadim** *in Qila Mubarak at Patiala.*

Fresco panel from Gurudwara Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai, district Faridkot.

13 : Several portraits, with likenesses of exceptional interest, indicate that the painters had a certain competence in portraiture. Light and shade or cast shadows, as originally understood, were sparingly used in paintings of earlier period, but in portraits executed in the later years of the 19th century, we find the painter influenced in his use of light and shade by European painting. Most of the portraits were painted against flat white background. Details of dress as well as personal paraphernalia were often elaborately painted. Here is seen an unidentified portrait of a Sikh warrior-priest.

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Fresco panel from the **Samadh** *of Baba Mohar Singh at Lopon, district Ludhiana.*

14 : Wall-paintings appeared all over the countryside in Punjab and Haryana on *samadhs* and *mazars*. The process of deification aided by the tendency to develop the tomb raised over a man of eminence into a temple helped promote the art of wall-painting. *Samadhs* of common ancestors or traditionally venerated elders were every where. It was not the Sikhs and Hindus alone who frequented such places, the Muslims had their own places of worship in this category. This panel shows full length portraits of Baba Mohar Singh and one of his associates. Baba Mohar Singh was the founder of the 'Maihma Sahi' branch of the *Nirmalas*, a monastic order of the Sikhs.

Mural panel from the Jain Shvetambera temple ***at Ambala City.***

15 : Portraits of persons who had raised temples and shrines as works of supererogation or of others who were somehow associated with the construction of the edifices, were also drawn. Donors to shrines were also often portrayed. This is an example of this class of portrayal.

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35. Portrait of an unidentified person. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Gurudwara Pothi Mala, Guru Harsahai, district Faridkot.

hands joined in supplicatory manner.[29] In the scene that represented Ranjit's interview with the Governor-General at Ropar in one of the murals of the Lahore Palace, the two potentates were portrayed[30] facing each other. The frescoes in the mansion of Avitabile had, among other themes, a portrait of Maharaja Ranjit Singh,[31] we learn. A painting that at Peshawar portrayed[32] Maharaja Ranjit Singh seated cross-legged with Raja Dhian Singh on his right hand while the effeminate and youthful, Hira Singh lolled in a careless attitude beside his master. The description also mentions a crew of whiskered, turbaned figures, portraying Allard, Ventura, Court and Avitabile, the four prominent European officers in the employ of the Maharaja, standing behind the arbiter of their destinies. Not very long ago, murals representing life-size portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the princes were to be seen on the walls of the Ramgarhia *bunga*, especially on the pillars facing the Dukh Bhanjani shrine in the premises of the Golden Temple at Amritsar.[33]

At Ram Tatwali, a remarkable painting portrays the Maharaja seated in a chair while Dhian Singh, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, the Dogra brothers, stand with folded hands before their master. A painting with a similar composition survives in the *samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda. In another painting in *akhara* Bala Nand at Amritsar, he is portrayed with his sons : Kharak Singh, Sher Singh and Nao Nihal Singh. Other interesting murals delineating the Maharaja in different situations are to be seen at Shri Palkiana Sahib near Jaura, a village in district Amritsar, in the *haveli* of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda at Ferozepur, in the house of Shri Anant Ram at Tanda, in the Shiv temple at Bhunga in District Hoshiarpur and in the temple of Baba Hari Har at Nur Mahal.

Individual portraits of Sher Singh, Dhian Singh, Gulab Singh, Suchet Singh and Fakir Aziz-ud-Din appear at Ram Tatwali. In the Shiv temple at Lasara, a village in district Jullundur, are two interesting portraits identified through Persian inscriptions over their heads. One of these depicts Maharaja Sher Singh with an attendant, Gulam Muhiudin, while the other depicts, interestingly enough, Maharaja Dalip Singh playing a *sitar*.

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The wall-paintings in the house of Ventura and Allard which represented their reception at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and which we are told consisted of 'many thousand figures',[34] must have included many portrait studies, at least of those who were directly involved. A painting in the house of Shri Kundan Lal at Dasuya portrays General Court and his wife standing with umbrellas held over their heads. The name 'Court Sahib Bahadur' appears in Persian script close to the top of the panel.

In the cis-Sutlej states, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his *sardars* are replaced as themes by the portraits of local Rajas and Chiefs. Murals in the *Diwankhana* Kadim at Patiala have life-like portraits of Raja Narindra Singh and other Rajas of the Phulkian states, including Sangat Singh, the Raja of Jind. In the *Qila* Mubarak at Chhachhrauli in district Ambala appear murals portraying local *Sardars*. In the *Diwankhana* of Chandar Sain at Dadri in district Bhiwani, there appear portraits representing Raja Bir Bikramjit and also a portrait of Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Portraits of the other historical personages of the bygone days also appear. In the *haveli* of Maghi Mal at Langiana Nawan, a village not far from Moga, are curious portraits of Akbar and Birbal facing each other, obviously drawn from imagination. Likewise it is interesting to note that among the frescoes embellishing the mansion of Avitabile at Peshawar, we find mention of Napoleon as being portrayed[35] in one of the panels.

A considerable number of wall-paintings show Sikh martyrs, portrayed from imagination, the best having been painted on the walls of Baba Atal[36] at Amritsar. It was also common practice to embellish the walls of monasteries and religious establishments with the portraits of their *mahants*,[37] either painted individually or in a single panel, shown in hierarchic or sequential order. Two such panels in *akhara* Bala Nand portray all the *mahants* of the monastery. Eleven panels at Ram Tatwali portray the *mahants* of the temple, each panel having a single portrait. Several panels in *akhara* Beri Wala at Amritsar and *akhara* Udasian at Jamsher in district Jullundur, portray the *mahants* of their respective establishments. A panel in the *gurudwara* of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad portrays Maharaj Singh, Suraj Singh, Bikram Singh and Kahn Singh, said to have been close associates of Baba Bir Singh. In addition, portraits of Thakur Khuda Singh, Baba Bhag Singh and *mahant* Ram Singh also appear here.

Not infrequently, the person in whose honour an edifice was erected, was portrayed in a mural panel. In the *dera* of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur, thus, were painted 'portraits' of Baba Lal and Dara Shukoh engaged in religious discourse.[38] A portrait of Baba Bikram Singh Bedi[39] is to be seen in his *samadh* at Amritsar. Portraits of Baba Bir Singh appear in the *gurudwaras* related to him both at Raja Sansi as well as at Naurangabad. There is a fine portrait believed to have been of Mohar Singh and one of his associates in his *samadh* at Lopon, a village in district Ludhiana. Portraits of Sardar Lal Singh, Bakshi Mehtab Singh,[40] Baba Khuda Singh and Baba Mohar Singh are still extant in their respective *samadhs* located at Kale Ghanupur near Amritsar, at Dina in district Faridkot, at Naurangabad near Tarn Taran and at Tanda in district Hoshiarpur, respectively. Portraits of persons who had raised temples as works of supererogation or of others who were somehow associated with the construction of the edifices, were also drawn. In the temple of Raja Sahib Dyal at Kishankot in district Gurdaspur, for instance, there are two panels, one portraying the Raja himself and the other his entire family. An interesting fresco in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra portrays Raja Gopal Singh, the builder of the shrine. Among the frescoes in the Damthal monastery, there is a portrait of the Pathania Raja Bir Singh[41] who had spent sometime there. Sometimes, painters too painted self-portraits on the walls of the edifices that they were engaged to painting. Instances of this are to be seen in the temple of Mansa Devi[42] near Manimajra and in *gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai.[43]

Besides important personages, 'ordinary persons' also sometimes managed to get themselves portrayed, either by virtue of having been in charge of getting murals painted in a particular edifice or being somehow close to the muralists, who possibly drew them as an act of friendship. Instances of such portraits are

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to be seen in the *samadh* of Sardar Lal Singh at Kale Ghanupur, a village near Amritsar and in the Muhammedan tomb at Aandlu, a village in district Ludhiana.

Female portraiture was not unknown but was certainly rare. Lt. Barr mentions Lady William Bentinck, accoutred in white trousers, boots and gold straps, portrayed a few paces behind her husband[44] in the scene that represented Maharaja Ranjit's interview with the Governor-General at Ropar in one of the murals of the Lahore Palace. In the frescoes of his mansion at Peshawar, Avitabile had a portrait of an European Lady[45] whose name, however, is not known. European ladies apart—and they form a different category because of their appearing in the public frequently and openly—portraits of Indian women, as in the miniatures were based mostly on 'ideal' types and not on observation. At Raja Sansi, a portrait, said to have been of Rani Jindan, who was so well known to Sikh miniaturists, is still extant. Another female portrait in the frescoes of the Bhandari Bhola temple at Batala is also believed to be of Rani Jindan. She appears again in one of the portraits at Ram Tatwali. In the *Diwankhana* of Chandar Sain at Dadri appear portraits of Rani Bija Bai and, strangely enough, a portrait identified as that of Lady Lake. There is a portrait of a low class woman, perhaps based on life, in the house of Shri Kundan Lal at Dasuya with a caption in Persian script, reading '*Marasan* Chandu'.

36. Portrait of Baba Mohar Singh — A drawing based on a wall-painting of his **Samadh** *at Lopon, a village in district Ludhiana.*

Apart from the portraits referred to above, several representations of men also belonging to the category of 'type portraits' are met with in 19th century murals. Thus, the representation of a 'Nawab of Lucknow' at Ram Tatwali, a painting of a soldier inscribed in Persian with the words 'Tasvir-i-Dogra' in the house of Shri Kundan Lal at Dasuya, a *chobdar* in *dera* Udasian at Ladda, a village in district Sangrur, belong to this order. Several murals depicting European 'Sahibs' and Ladies standing in different postures have also survived. Many brick houses in district Jullundur are recorded as having "outrageous caricatures"[46] in the form of mural paintings showing members of H.M.'s Civil and Military services.

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37. Portrait of an unidentified lady. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Bhandari Bhola **Mandir** *at Batala.*

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Genre Themes

Among the more interesting of the paintings, from the point of view of theme, interesting because innovative, are paintings of genre themes. Among the wall-paintings from Punjab and Haryana, unexpectedly we find, thus, craftsmen such as goldsmiths, ironsmiths, carpenters and cobblers at work. A cotton-printer is to be seen in the *samadh* of Bibi Bhani at Kartarpur. Themes depicting scenes from the routine life of women also appear as they do in the works of 19th century miniaturists like Kehar Singh and Kapur Singh. In the murals of Shri Palkiana Sahib, a temple in district Amritsar, we see women engaged in winnowing grain and then pounding it; in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, they appear spinning cotton and making skeins. A painting in *gurudwara* Gurusar at Bargarhi near Kot Kapura, depicts a woman carrying food for her men working in the fields. A Gujjar woman carrying milk on her head appears in the *samadh* of Sardar Lal Singh at Kale Ghanupur, a village near Amritsar. The theme representing 'mother and child' which has become popular in Indian painting of the 20th century, was also dealt with in the wall-paintings of Punjab and Haryana. A fair example of the theme survives in the Rani *Mahal* at Nabha. An ethnographically interesting picture of *Gaddis* or hills shepherds at Ram Tatwali also falls under this category.

Several wall-paintings have themes treating of public entertainments and were obviously painted with the intention of amusing the viewers. In painting these themes, the muralists sometimes wittingly recorded the panorama of recreational and sportive aspects of life in Punjab and Haryana. Wrestling was apparently the most popular sport[47] and numerous panels of murals on this subject are still extant all over the Punjab. We sometimes even have the names of wrestlers. In the *Serai* at Zira appear life-size figures of two wrestlers, Kikar Singh and Gulamun, engaged in wrestling. Kite-flying was another popular theme. Paintings illustrating sports like fencing, chariot race, acrobatics and pigeon-flying occur frequently. Lt. Barr records that Maharaja Ranjit Singh's shooting-box at Gujarat was embellished with sporting feats such as cock-fighting, hunting and wrestling.[48] There are also to be seen interesting panels showing monkey-trainers and bear-masters displaying their skills. A number of miniature panels in the Shiv Puri temple at Patiala records several entertaining feats. Panels illustrating hunting in progress and Bhima flinging elephants in the sky are frequently met with. The representation of a railway train had become one of the most popular motifs, apparently because the novelty of railway travel excited many imaginations. At Ram Tatwali, a ten feet long panel depicts a complete railway train. The village rest-house or *paras* in the eastern districts, now forming a part of the Haryana State, frequently included this motif among the themes painted on their walls.[49] A painting in Shri Palkiana Sahib depicts a man receiving drinks from his beloved, and one is instantly reminded of modern calendar paintings based on Omar Khayyam's works. Murals in the *haveli* of Shri Onkar Nath at Hadiaya, a village near Barnala, include interesting pictures of a snake-charmer and a man smoking a hookah.

Ritualistic Themes

Several motifs, purely ritualistic in nature, were painted in Punjab and Haryana. Many of these are still in vogue,[50] mostly among the village folk of the eastern districts, particularly of Haryana. Being ceremonial and reverable they were by nature meant to be transitory in character. On the eve of *chath* or house-warming ceremony in Amritsar, figures of five or seven gods were drawn together with Wasta, the house god.[51] In district Gurgaon, chariots, pea-fowls and many other objects, including a picture of the god "Binnaik or Bindaik" (apparently Ganesha), were drawn[52] on the house walls several days before the wedding of a male member in the family. On a number of other occasions and festivals, too, there appears to have remained in this district a popular tradition of drawing ritualistic representations on walls. On the *Solono* day, a figure called *sona*[53] was drawn in red on the house wall. On *Nag Panchami*, *Deo-Uthan* and *Narayana* days, were drawn pictures of different descriptions[54] which originally had meanings of their own.[55] On Diwali was drawn a figure having three parts[56]: (a) *sain*, representing Radhiki, (b) representing the goddess *Amavashya*, and (c) representing *Lakshmi*, the goddess of wealth. The tradition of drawing figures on *Guga Naumi*,

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representing a snake and a man on horseback, still survives in Haryana.[57]

Erotic Themes

Paintings with obvious erotic content are of unusual interest. In the tradition of embellishing Hindu and Islamic palaces with erotic scenes,[58] the Sikh royalty and aristocracy got their private apartments adorned with murals around the theme of carnal desires. Hari Singh's villa at Gujranwala had murals, 'questionable' enough in character to make Lt. Barr refrain from giving any detailed description.[59] Likewise, General Avitabile's bedroom was covered with pictures of underclad dancing girls[60] and with the loves of Hindu deities.[61] A number of frescoes in the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala are covered with *srinagara* themes very appropriate for the *mahal* meant which was primarily for the ladies.[62] Murals in the Rani Mahal at Nabha illustrate passages from the treatise on sex called the *Kok-Shastra*, depicting couples in various attitudes of physical congress. Although erotic themes remained confined mostly to wall-paintings in the edifices of the upper strata of the society, the themes sometimes crept also into murals that embellished religious establishments. Some paintings in the temple of Bawa Sharwan Nath at Pehowa, for instance, depict scenes of dalliance. James Coley refers to very 'obscene figures'[63] he had seen on the walls of houses at Amritsar.

Raga-Ragini Themes

Raga-Ragini themes were also painted in fairly large numbers. Here, as in the miniatures, attempt was made to give musical form "a more precise expression[64]", through paintings. A panel in the fort of Manimajra depicts beautifully the pictorial versions of Bilawal,[65] Sarang and Purbi *raginis*. Pictorial renderings of Bairari and Sarang *raginis* appear among murals in the Shiv temple at Lasara, a village in district Jullundur. The theme also occurs among the murals of an edifice known as Gaddighar, located in the Vaishnava monastery at Pindori near Gurdaspur. A panel in the Damthal monastery depicts Todi *ragini*.[66] In the *gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari, likewise, survives a graphic personification of Sri *Rag* Hindol. Apparently the tradition of painting *Raga-malas* was still strong.

38. Sikh musicians. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Shri Akal Takhat, Amritsar.

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Nayak-Nayika Themes

Nayak-Nayika themes based on the traditional rhetorical classification of the situations of love were painted, but the theme has been generally poorly treated except in the frescoes of the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala. Here in a considerable number of panels the subject is rendered with animation, including complete set of the *ashtanayika* or the eight heroines. Stray examples of the theme come across at a number of places. The *Svadhinapatika nayika*, for instance, appears in the Shiv temple at Lasara, a village in district Jullundur and representations of *Abhisarika*[67] and *Virahini*[68] *nayikas* appear in the frescoes of the Damthal monastery. The themes of the frescoes illustrating verses from the *Sat Sai* of Bihari[69] in *Shish Mahal* at Patiala are similar in nature and spirit.

Baramasa Themes

Wall-paintings representing the Baramasa are rare but an unusually elegant rendering of the theme based on the *Rasikapriya* of Keshav Dass appears in a number of panels in the *Shish Mahal*[70] at Patiala. In a panel showing the month of *Jyestha*, for instance, the painter introduces several suggestions of hot months in the fan held by a lady, the *piyao* in the background, a man walking with an umbrella etc.

It is possible to study the themes of wall-paintings under several other heads.

The romantic tales of the Punjab and Haryana, thus, — Heer Ranjha, Mirza Sahiban, Sohni Mahiwal, Sassi Punnu, Laila Majnu and Raja Rasalu — found their way on the walls of many an edifice. A series of frescoes in *gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai and in the *samadh* of Baba Man Singh at Sodhiwala, a village near Zira, illustrate all the love stories. Murals depicting noted lovers appear on walls of the shrine of Guga Pir at Chhapar, a village near Ahmadgarh.[71] A splendid panel at Shri Palkiana Sahib, a temple near Jaura, a village in district Amritsar, depicts Mirza being killed by Sahiban's brothers. The story of Laila Majnu appears in the shrine of Baba Mahesh Dass at Pindori.[72] Many of the murals representing Heer Ranjha illustrate Heer in the act of beating Kaidon while Ranjha grazes buffaloes near-by. The scene from the legend of Raja Rasulu often delineates one of its sub-legends depicting Raja Hodi and Rani Kokilan.[73] In addition to widely known legends, several other amorous tales popular in Punjab and Haryana, including themes based on bardic lore, found place among mural embellishments. At Ram Tatwali, for instance, several panels relate to the legend of Shah Behram and Husan Banu and a panel depicts Rani Luna trying to entice Puran, an episode from the famous ballad of Purana Bhagat. In the *dera* of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur and in the temple of Raja Sahib Dyal at Kishankot, both in district Gurdaspur, legends of Raja Gopi Chand are to be seen. In the districts further east, the chivalrous legend of Jaimal and Fatta formed a popular theme.

There are themes with philosophic turns at places.[74] Over the door-way of Avitabile's gallery of many-coloured frescoes, thus, we read that two angels held scrolls in their hands with French and Latin inscriptions.[75] One was La Fontaine's[76] couplet of 'Death and Sage'; the other was an Ovidian[77] distich :

"Donec eris felix multos numberabis amicos
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Its English rendering[78] would run as under :

"As long as you will be happy you will have many friends but in cloudy times you will be alone."

In the house of Shri Kundal Lal at Dasuya, a painting depicts a lady holding a plate inscribed with a Persian distich of Sheikh Saadi, the celebrated poet of Iran. Its English rendering[79] would run as under :

"O, merciful God; pity our condition, because we are captured in the noose of carnal desires."

Islamic themes depicting Shams Tabriz roasting fish[80] in the sun and Mansur being crucified, both painted in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali and in the *samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda, come as a surprise, for one does not expect to find these in Hindu and Sikh places of worship and habitations.

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39. A lady holding a plate inscribed with Persian distich of Sheikh Saadi. A drawing based on a wall-painting on the house of Shri Kundan Lal at Dasuya, district Hoshiarpur.

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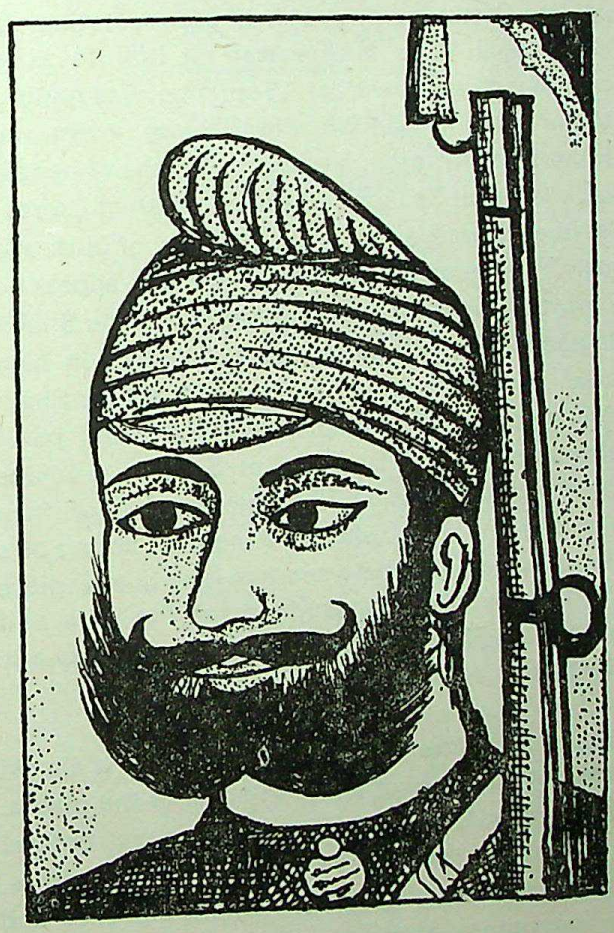

40. A Sikh soldier. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Bairagi **Thakurdwara** *at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.*

The figure of "Muluk-ool-mout", riding on his ghastly charger but bearing in his hand a cup of water, which Lt. Edwardes[81] saw drawn on the head stone of a grave in the cemetery of Khyrah and Bhuchur villages,[82] near Multan must have been based on some ritual in voge among the Muslims of the locality.

Jain themes representing *Tirthankaras* or 'ford-makers across the stream of existence', appear in all the four Jain temples located at Sadhaura, Ambala, Zira and Ferozepur Cantonment.

Several panels in the Bhadra Kali *mandir* at Kurukshetra depict curious but unintelligible themes which apppear, most probably, to have been based on folk-tales confined to that locality.

In district Ambala and further east of it in Haryana, are seen wall-paintings representing Guga Pir. A typical painting depicting the snake god was seen by J.M. Douie[83] on the parapet of a new well in a Jat village in district Ambala. "The saint was seated on a horse and was starting from the Bagar country. His mother, standing in front of the horse, was trying to stop his departure. He held in his hand a long staff (*bhala*), explained to be a mark of dignity, and over his head the heads of two snakes met, one being coiled round the *bhala*."[84]

One of the most widely painted themes which almost developed into a decorative motif in murals of Punjab and Haryana, was the representation of soldiers in various forms. Allard's Garden House, beyond Anarkali at Lahore, was "embellished with paintings of dragoons, lancers and foot-soldiers, nearly as large as life "[85] On the pillars of a *dharm-sala* at Lahru, a village in district Ludhiana, were painted "files of soldiers with old-fashioned head-gear and ancient muskets at the slope, drilled by a Sahib on horseback, conspicuous of his huge baggy breeches."[86] A similar painting is still extant in the Fort of Manimajra near Chandigarh. In the 19th century *dvarapalas*, often painted flanking gates, had turned into company soldiers.

Another prevalent decorative motif was fairies or winged figures. In a Muhammedan tomb at Aandlu,

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in district Ludhiana, appear all the different types of fairies[87] identified through Gurmukhi inscriptions. These included *Shah-pari*, *Jahur-pari*, *Hur-pari*, *Thal-pari*, *Jal-pari* and *Agas-pari*. Intrados of all the eight entrances to the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali are pained with winged figures. Other elegant examples are to be seen in the Golden Temple at Amritsar[88] and in the *devidwara* at Nawanshahar. These often represented the notion of "western angels".[89]

The advent of Europeans in the Punjab became increasingly reflected in the themes of wall-paintings. Reference has already been made to the portraits of European dignitaries and to the representation of railway trains and soldiers in their proper uniforms — things that Europeans brought in their train. Paintings illustrating white sahibs listening to the petitions of natives, taking joy-rides with their spouces in phaetons, or strolling with their families outside their bungalows and going on hunting expeditions on elephants and horses, had become popular with the passage of time.

Not infrequently are to be seen in murals representations of birds and animals of the land of five rivers, appearing as a part of other themes or as individual motifs. Scenes depicting monkey-masters, bear-masters, chariot races, ladies feeding parrot, peacock or buck, show representations of animals and birds. Paintings relating to Guru Gobind Singh depict interesting studies of horses, falcons and dogs in various attitudes. As a motif in itself, the most popular among the local birds was the peacock which appears frequently in all its elegent beauty. The most vivid representations of the bird hail from the *gurudwara* of Baba Bir Singh and the *samadh* of Baba Khuda Singh, both located at Naurangabad, a village near Tarn Taran and also from the *haveli* of Sandhanwalia Sardars at Raja Sansi. James Coley noticed that figures of peacocks predominated in the murals that embellished houses in Amritsar.[90] Besides the ubiquitous peacook, there are to be seen a number of birds, including *chakora (alectoris graeca)*, *hansa (phoenicopterus ruber)*, *koel (eudynamis scolopaceus)*, *koonja (authropoides virgo)*, *maina (acridotheres tristis)*, and several forms of local sparrows. The parrot being a pet bird, was often painted.[91] In the *gurudwara* of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad and in the *samadh* of Sarju Das in the Nirankari Dera at Patiala appear so many birds that it may not be inappropriate to call these edifices picture-galleries of local birds.

Among the animals, elephant figures were a favourite motif[92] of decoration. Decorative motifs consisting of figures of dogs and deer[93] were also usual, the latter finding a fine representation in *akhara* Sangal Wala at Amritsar. A fifty to sixty feet high square tower at Wazirabad was noticed by Vigne as being painted with themes intermixed with horses and other animals.[94] Tombs of certain Muslim saints at Khangah Dogran, in district Gujranwala, were ornamented with pictures of birds and animals.[95] Figures of a camel and a dog appear on one of the walls of the mausoleum of Lape Shah[96] at Jagraon. Frolicsome monkeys, perched in high bushes, appear in the *gurudwara* of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad. An exceptionally interesting panel in the house of Shri Baru Mal at Sulchini, a village in the Hansi sub-division, illustrates a story of 'two cats and a monkey', wherein a monkey, acting as a mediator in a dispute between two cats over a piece of bread, cunningly manages to cheat the cats and keep the bread for himself. Occasionally aquatic creatures also appear.[97]

Last of all comes 'ornamentation' which is almost a theme with its own entity in some of the places. The most popular form of ornamentation was derived from the myriad forms of vegetation such as trees, vines, grasses, flowers, leaves, tendrils, branches and fruits; sometimes stylized, sometimes realistic and true to nature,[98] sometimes arranged into wreaths, garlands, fastoons or clusters and sometimes intermixed with the world of birds, with their wings, feathers, talons and eggs. Floral sprays and arabesques usually formed frames for murals which constituted the chief embellishments of an edifice. Typical of this kind of decoration is the work in the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala. In the Golden Temple at Amritsar, there are about three hundred different patterns on the walls which look from a distance like Kashmir embroidery or Persian carpets hung on walls.[99] The centre of the ceilings or domes, in amalgamation

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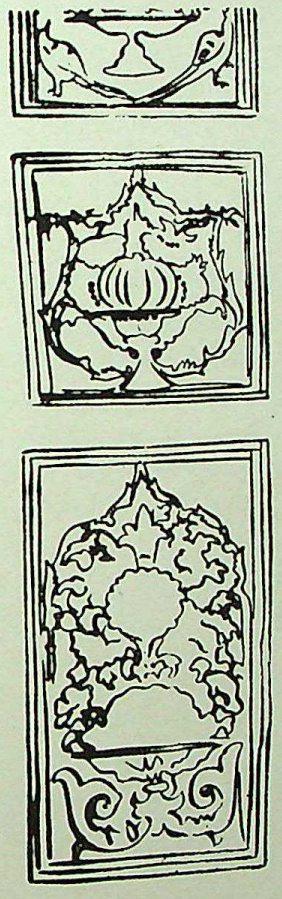

41. A specimen of decorative devices used in wall embellishments in Punjab and Haryana.

with floral designs, were often painted with decorative motif representing the 'Sun'.[100]

Edifices related to the Sikhs were often painted with a decorative motif known as *dehin*, executed symmetrically in creeper, floral and bird motifs.[101] It was raised over a base known as *gharvanjh*,[102] a decorative device involving knotted grapplings between animals balanced by a similar style of floral patterns.[103] A decorative design known as *pattha* was used around the *dehin*.[104]

Excepting two edifices at Aandlu and Dhun Dhaewal, two villages located respectively in district Ludhiana and Amritsar, all Muslim edifices were devoid of figural paintings. Nevertheless they possessed a wealth of ornament including geometric and floral motifs, arabesques and guilloche interlace formed with an intricate network of lines and figures of cypresses.[105] The shrine known as *Baba Sher Shah da Darbar* at Ghariala, a village near Patti, is ornamented with stars and flowers issuing from jars or basins and reminds one of the elegant embellishments of olden days wrought in the mosque of Wazir Khan at Lahore.[106] One of the most unique decoration, scarcely with a parallel anywhere else, was found in the Jahazi Mahal,[107] Muzaffar Khan's residence at Shujabad, near Multan. In addition to the purely decorative paintings of scrolls, flowers and foliage which filled the spandrels and borders, its walls were decorated with curious pictures of cities and palatial buildings painted on sunk panels of different sizes and shapes, striving to delineate a picture of the Arabian cities, seen by the Khan on his pious pilgrimage to Mecca.

This rather rapid survey of the principal themes is in some way revealing, if somewhat repetitive. For through this, one sees the closeness between the themes that the miniature painters of Punjab and Haryana and the Punjab Hills held dear to themselves and the themes that the painters of the wall-paintings chose for embellishing the walls. There is the same degree of interest in Vaishnava themes, in illustrations of *Ragmala* and *Nayak-nayika* texts and the kind. And there is, in addition, the strong

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interest in Sikh themes — both representations of the Sikh Gurus and personalities of Sikh history. This interest is there in the miniatures of the 19th century but it is in a different light that we see it manifested ir the murals where it intermingles with other traditional themes that are carried over from the 18th century and earlier.

Of special interest are the mural counterparts of what can be called 'Company miniatures' of the 19th century. The awareness that the artist shows of his surroundings, his inclusion of commonplace everyday themes, are all in a class of their own. This is something that the miniature painter was often slow in doing but the muralist, possibly because he was painting more often for the common man — a pilgrim, a devotee, the owner of a small house — was quick to seize on the 'dramatic' events or developments of his day as themes for his work.

Thirdly, a point which has been made earlier in different contexts, can be made here too. The themes of the wall-paintings are chosen almost at random by the artist, without special attention being paid to the nature of the edifice on which painting is being done. Everything is pressed into service because the object principally seems to be to embellish a building rather than use it as an occasion for working around some carefully chosen themes. This gives us some idea of the whole approach to the art of mural painting in Punjab and Haryana, some inkling of the way the mind of the painter and the patron alike worked.

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10. See Karuna Goswamy, *loc. cit.*, pt. 1 and 2, p. 125.
11. See B.N. Goswamy, "Some early 19th century frescoes and the painter Angad of Sirmur", *Arts Asiatique*, XIII, 1966, p. 103; "Temple of Mansa Devi and its frescoes", *Advance*, XII, No. 2, April-June 1965. p. 36.
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21. See Lt. Barr, *Journal*, p. 101.
22. Bhan Singh, *loc. cit.*, p. 46.
23. See Lt. Barr, *Journal*, p. 100.
24. Baron Charles Hugel, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
25. Lt. Barr, *Journal*, p. 78.
26. *Lahore D.G. 1916*, p. 29.
27. Lt. Barr, *Journal*, pp. 130-133.
28. J.J. Cotton, "General Avitabile", *Calcutta Review* CCXLVI, Oct. 1906, pp. 575-576.
29. See Lt. Barr, *Journal*, p. 101.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
31. J.J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*, p. 576.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 544-46.
33. See Bhan Singh, *loc. cit.*, p. 46.
34. Baron Charles Hugel, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
35. J.J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*, p. 576.
36. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Gurudwara Baba Atal Sahib", *Marg*, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 39.
37. See J.C. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, p. 259.
38. *Gurdaspur D.G. 1914*, p. 31.
39. This portrait has been reproduced on page 7 of the book entitled *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, by M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh.
40. See K.S. Ghuman (ed.), *Dina Kangar Survey Pustak (P)*, p. 67.
41. B.N. Goswamy, "Damthal", *Marg*, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 33.
42. See B. N. Goswamy, "Temple of Mansa Devi and its Frescoes", *Advance*, XII, No. 2, April-June 1965, p. 36.
43. The *granthi* of this *gurudwara* pointed to a particular spot on a wall where he remembered having seen a portrait of the painter who had been engaged in painting murals in the shrine.
44. *Journal*, p. 100.
45. J.J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*, p. 576.
46. *Jullundur D.G. 1904*, p. 50.
47. See R.E. Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 44, 50.
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50. See Oscar Lews, *Village Life in Northern India*, pp. 212, 215-16, 225.
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52. *Ibid.*, p. 915.
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70. See Karuna Goswamy, *loc. cit.*, p. 121, pt. 2 and 3, depicting months of *Jyestha* and *Sawan*.
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73. See R. C. Temple, *The Legends of the Punjab*, pp. 54-65; Charles Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Punjab*, pp. 178-203.
74. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Punjab Murals : Two Poetic Themes", *The Sunday Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1976, p. 5.
75. J.J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*, p. 576.
76. French Poet (1757-1843).
77. Roman Poet Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.-A.D. 17).
78. The translation of the distich into Engiish by Dr. Herbert Ross, Counsellor, Italian Embassy in New Delhi, was kindly conveyed to me vide his letter No. 7139 dated Dec. 17. 1971.
79. Late Shri Kirpal Singh Bedar of Punjabi University, Patiala, identified the verse and kindly translated the distich into English, for me.
80. See Kahn Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
81. *Punjab Govt. Records*, V, p. 30.
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88. See *Chatrik Abhinandan Granth (P)*, p. 113.
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Chapter IV

Technique and Notes on Style

In matters of the principal techniques[1] employed, wall-painting in Punjab and Haryana shows strong affinity with contemporary wall-painting in the neighbouring regions, especially the Hill States and Rajasthan. And yet it would not be without interest to examine this matter in some detail.

Broadly, of course, wall-paintings fall in one or the other of the three categories : (1) tempera, (2) fresco or (3) fresco-secco. In tempera, painting is done on dry wall plaster with pigments made in an organic medium. True fresco implies work done on wet wall plaster with pigments ground in water. In fresco-secco, painting is done on a dry wall with pigments ground in water. In each of these, attention has to be paid to (a) the 'carrier', which supports the 'ground', (b) the 'ground' on which paintings are executed, (c) the materials or pigments used in the work and (d) the 'binding medium', or the means by which pigments are attached to the ground so as to make the work firm and lasting.

The question of finding a suitable surface like a wall or ceiling which acts as 'carrier' is of primary importance, for on a permanent foundation for the plaster coats making up the mural ground depends the longevity of the painting. In 19th century Punjab the 'carrier' almost always was a wall or ceiling, made of handmade bricks, baked to a fresh looking red and laid in lime-sand mortar. The breadth of the wall depended on the type of edifice, but there is to be seen a general preference for broad walls, usually not less than two and a half feet in breadth. No serious effort seems to have been made towards waterproofing the walls, but the process of spraying good bricks before setting them into mortar, tended to largely remove the possibility of efflorescence. Negligence to do this has indeed led to a whitish exudation which can be seen on some of the old walls bearing mural panels in the *samadh* of Sardar Lal Singh at Kale Ghanupur, a village near Amritsar; Shiv temple at Achal Batala; *samadh* of Baba Man Singh near Sodhiwala, a village in Ferozepur district; to name only a few. All brick joints were raked back about a quarter of an inch and smooth bricks were roughened with a stone-cutter's hammer to enable the surface to hold

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on firmly to the plaster, the 'ground' on which the paintings were executed.

Mud walls also served as 'carriers' as in some of the Hill States,[2] but only rarely. An example can be seen in the *haveli* of the Sandhanwalia Sardars at Raja Sansi, where the walls serving as 'carriers' were composite brick and mud material. Brick walls were covered with a mud plaster six inches thick, the purpose clearly being to keep the inside cool in summer and warm in winter.

Where murals were executed on already standing old walls, whatever plaster was on them, was first removed, and the surface roughened enough to hold the new plaster firmly. In general, partition walls, waterproofed by their very location, constituted the best 'carrier' for mural paintings.

In the sub-montane tract, stone being easily available, was used to erect walls of edifices. That it served as a good 'carrier' is apparent from the extant murals in the temple of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali and in the *gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari at Una. The rough surface of stone added to the firmness of plaster and all chances of salt efflorescence were eliminated.

In respect of 'ground', while the nature of the material composing it was more or less the same, there appears to have been no uniformity in the proportions in which the materials were mixed.

Lime was the pre-eminent material in the formation of 'ground'. Chemical analysis of plaster taken from the *haveli* of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda at Ferozepur, and from the Faridkot Fort, has shown that the proportion of lime or calcium carbonate in them was, respectively, 61% and 68%.[3] Lime was prepared extensively in the Punjab, mostly around good *kankar* quarries. A circular mud-built structure with a round tank in the centre, known as *pajwa*[4] or kiln, was filled with fuel, and above this *kankar* was stacked in layers interlined with wood and cowdung. A long narrow aperture was left down to the circular tank and lighted fuel was thrown below it to ignite the whole mass. Little or no wood-ash got mixed with the lime, but dung-ash did and the lime had to be cleaned of this. Else, it fetched a lower price,[5] being of inferior quality. It took four to five days of burning to convert *kankar* into lime which was then slaked. It may be noted that lime procured from one *kankar* quarry differed from that of another quarry, both in chemical composition, and in giving final results.

The lime was thoroughly slaked to prevent 'blisters' appearing in the 'ground'. It was kept under water for at least a week, and it improved the longer it was treated like this.[6] Every day the water was changed so as to leave a very fine sediment.[7] Then it was strained through a fine cloth, the substance that remained in the cloth being called '*pora*'[8], the equivalent of the Rajasthani '*bugra*'.[9] The best of all slaked limes, matured for more than a year, turned into viscous lime-putty and was used in the most ambitious mural projects such as that of the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala. It was stored in a tightly closed box in a cool dark-room or cellar, better still in a lime pit which used to be deep and well covered up.

The other materials used in the preparation of the 'ground' were called '*kutta*' and '*doga*'. '*Doga*' was the curd-like residue of white plaster prepared from burnt and drenched marble[10] duly cloth-filtered,[11] while '*kutta*' was the rough remains of white marble plaster, obtained from the cloth-filtered material.[12] Not infrequently fine clean sand,[13] preferably bank-sand, was also used in addition to or in place of marble meal and marble dust.[14] Sand that contained mica was avoided in painting work. Mica on the 'intonaco' surface and painted over, would sooner or later split, divide and fall off, leaving white spot. It appears that sand was washed and sifted a great deal to get rid of its impurities. Clay was also used in the preparation of the 'ground', corresponding to the 'makaul'[15] plaster applied in the Hills. Chemical analysis of plasters from the *haveli* of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda, at Ferozepur and from the Faridkot Fort has shown the proportion of clay in them to be 39% and 32%[16] respectively.

In addition to lime, sand and clay, the major constituents of 'ground', other materials were also

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Mural panel from the old **haveli** *of Sandhanwalia sardars at Raja Sansi, district Amritsar.*

16 : Female portraiture was not unknown but was certainly rare. As in miniatures, mural portraits of women also appear to have been based on 'ideal' types and not on observations. This portrait from Raja Sansi, is said to be of Rani Jindan, the celebrated queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, so well known to the Sikh miniaturists. She is seen with all the jewellery becoming to her dignified rank.

The influence of Pahari painting clearly bears on her face and, in all probability, this may be the work of Guler painters, Gokal or Chhajju, who were in the employe of the Sandhanwalia *sardars* of Raja Sansi.

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Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

17 : The delineation of woman in murals invariably remains in profile. As is seen in this panel, representing a woman feeding a parrot, important is the line which outlines the body sharply. This is obviously not a portrait but may be termed as a 'type-portrait' which appears in several mural panels depicting women not only feeding parrots but also peacocks or bucks, fondling their pets and writing love letters.

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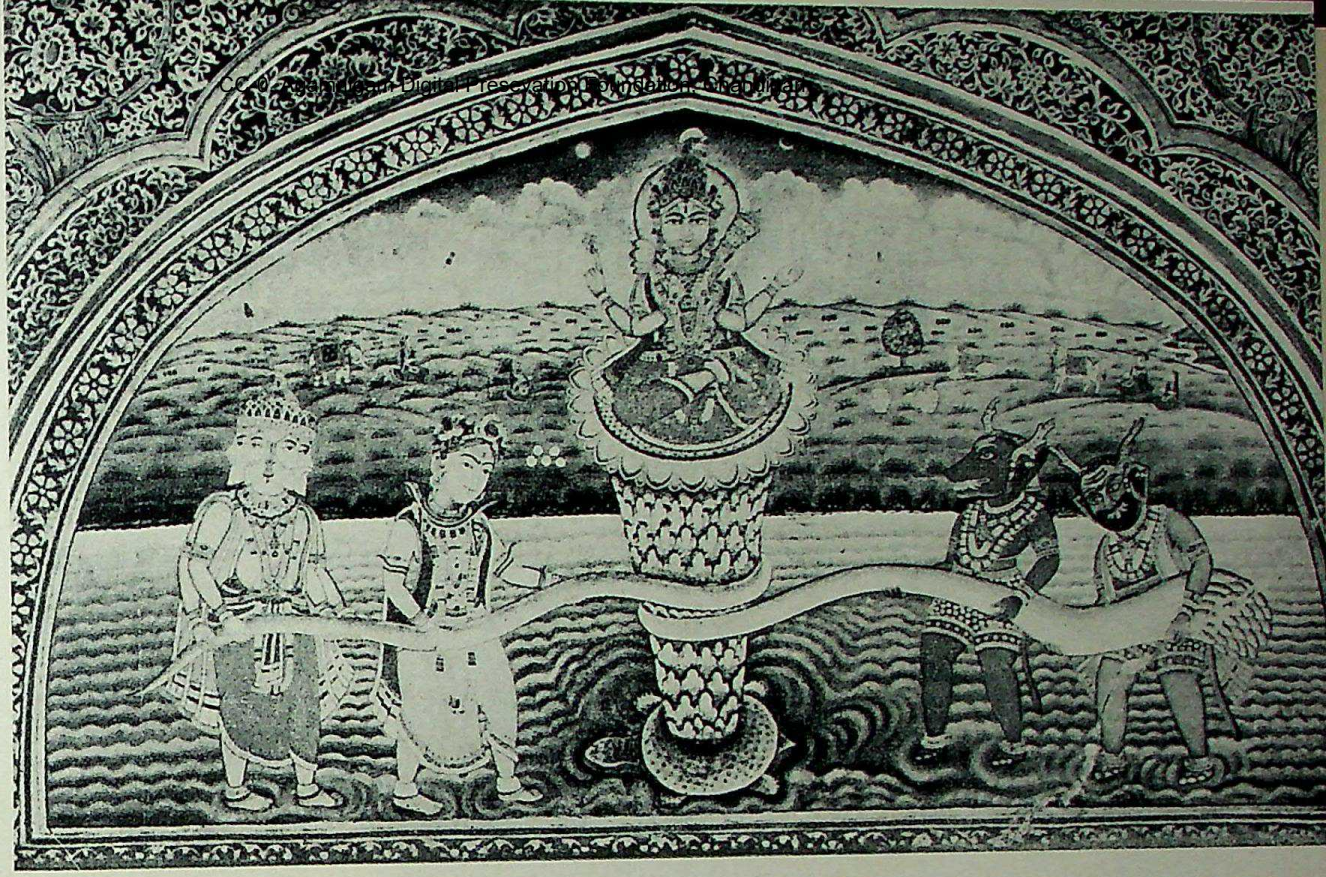

18 *Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala.*

Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala. 19

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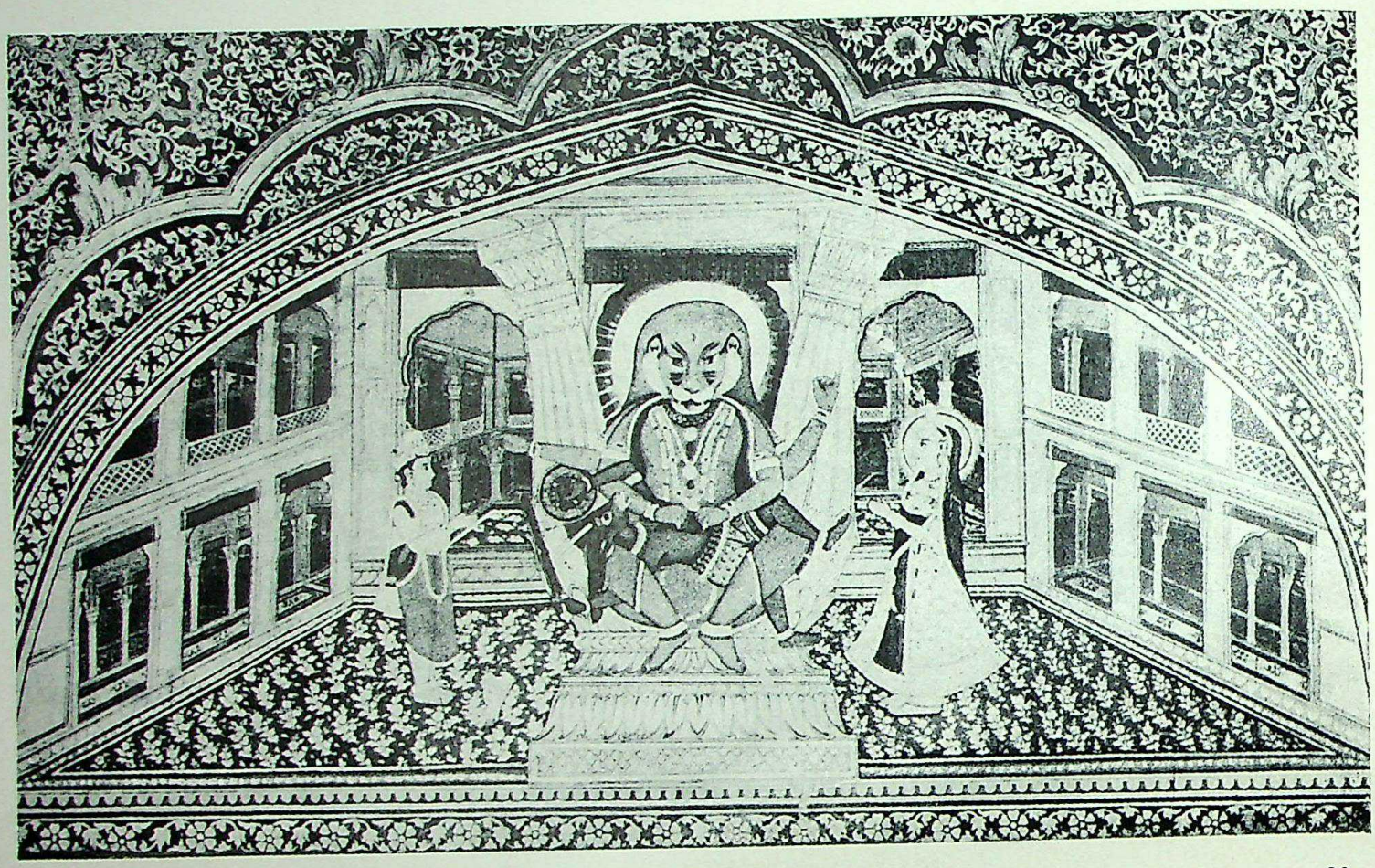

Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala.

18 : Lord Vishnu, as preserver of the divine order, sometimes deems it necessary to come down to earth. This 'coming down' *(avtara)* takes place through 'messengers' who, according to Hindu faith, are incarnations of the God.

Here Vishnu appears as second *avatara* in the shape of a tortoise *(Kurma)* on which the mountain Mandan as churning stick rests. His aim is to help retrive the nectar of immortality, *amrita*. Both gods and demons collaborated in the task of retriving the *amrita* and, interestingly, Vishnu enables them to carry on their endless struggle, a struggle that is fundamental to the universal equilibrium over which he watches.

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19 : Vishnu in his third incarnation appears in the form of an anormous boar or *Varaha* to save the earth from the demon Hiranyaksha who had dragged it into the ocean. Vishnu as *Varaha* plunges into the waters, smites the demon Hiranyaksha dead and raises the earth on his tusk to bring it back to the surface.

As a boon for his penances, Brahma gave Hiranyaksha immunity from hurt by man, god or beast. But misusing this boon he took the world down to the abyss that Vishnu took the form of a boar, the one beast which Brahma had exempted demon from immunity, in order to crush him.

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20 : Vishnu in his fourth incarnation appears as Narasimha, the man-lion. In Dr. Vitsaxis' words : 'Vishnu had to come down to earth to destroy the demon Hiranyakasipu, who had become dangerously powerful because of a boon granted to him by Brahma "not to fear death from any god, man or beast; neither at night nor in daytime; neither in his dwelling nor outside it". Intoxicated with his unchallenged power and fearing nothing and nobody, the demon became a plague both to gods and men. He even tortured his own son, Prahlad, a devotee of Vishnu, who refused to accept his father's pretensions to omnipotence. One evening at sunset, the demon showed his son a column at the threshold of the house and said : "Do you really believe that your god is omnipresent and resides even in this column ?" Vishnu was enraged by the demon's impiety : breaking open the column, he sprang out of it in the form of a man-lion and tore the tyrant to pieces. This he achieved without setting aside Brahma's boon, for he was himself neither man nor-animal; dusk was neither day nor night; and the threshold was neither inside the dwelling nor out of it.

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made use of, but since they did not form an essential part of the 'ground' composition, their use depended primarily on the discretion of the muralist. Powder obtained by grinding conch, and paste made of the *mash* pulse (Phaseolus Radiatus), was used for achieving added whiteness to the surface. The use of these two materials in *Pahari* murals has already been established, but chemical analysis of plasters from Punjab and Haryana does not reveal their presence even though many elderly painters, who possess knowledge of the traditional methods of wall-painting, speak of their having been applied in the final coat of plaster for better results.

Molasses or sugared water were generally used for to adding to the adhesive properties of the plaster, as in Rajasthan.[18] These also helped to retain moisture for the plaster to be kept moist and in a workable condition.[19] The practice of using molasses in wall paintings continued well into the first quarter of the present century and there is evidence even of the diluted honey along with molasses.[20] When clay was used in the 'ground', adhesive quality was obtained by mixing fibres of jute, hemp etc.,[21] chaff and cow-dung; sometimes a little rice-starch was added to impart further tenacity. The use of these materials in Punjab and Haryana was not by any means an innovation. Early texts like *Vishnudharmottara*, *Abhilashitartha Chintamani* and *Silparatna*, clearly speak of them and their properties.[22] Their use only makes it evident that the knowledge of materials used in ancient Indian wall-paintings did not merely survive as knowledge in the 19th century, but continued to be put to use.

The technique of applying plaster on the 'carrier' that constituted the 'ground' differed according to the painting process to be adopted. However, workers in the profession were apparently aware that whatever the process, success in mural painting depended entirely upon the proper handling of mortar materials, both before and after they were mixed together. They knew that repeated re-mixing of the mortar before use ensured the successful conclusion of the work and that tight and homogeneous unification of sand and marble dust with lime was essential to coherence in plaster coats.

Through various stages of its execution, the laying of the 'ground' for fresco painting, done on wet plaster with pigments ground in water, demanded considerable skill. Brick or stone walls were wetted well to receive the coat of 'ariccio',[23] the plaster layer covering the masonry. Plaster, made of slaked lime and sand, was driven well into joints and crevices and then beaten all over with a long strip of wood used edgeways until it became slightly dry.[24] The process was repeated until the 'ariccio' became at least a quarter of an inch thick. It was then carefully levelled to receive the coat of 'intonaco': finely grained plaster layer covering the rougher 'ariccio' surface on which the colours were laid. The 'intonaco' plaster was composed of perfectly slaked lime and finally pulverized marble meal, made into the consistency of a cream and applied to the wet wall plaster with a brush and rubbed over the ground with a flat stone to make it set well into the 'ariccio' surface. This process was repeated to obtain the desired thickness of 'intonaco' which usually remained less than 3 mm.[25] When the plaster grew a little dry and sticky, it was polished with an agate polishing stone until the surface was quite smooth and glazed.[26] The more carefully it was done, the finer was the polish. Every time the agate was moved backwards and forwards, it was made to pass over a portion of its previous course, so as to prevent any line at the edge. The ground was thus ready for painting. It is interesting to note that *'kansi-de-kaul'* or bowls made of bronze, were sometimes used in place of agates for polishing purposes.[27] In the preparation of walls intended for fresco painting, great precautions had to be taken, as unevenness in surface was not only unsightly, but allowed dust to accumulate to the detriment of paintings.[28]

The process, known as *'mohra-kashi'* in Punjab and Haryana, remained considerably popular till the end of the 19th century.[29] It was also called 'Jodhpuri *hunar*',[30] probably because the technique was borrowed from Jodhpur, the place where it was originally practised. For better comprehensibility of the technique, it is expedient to describe it briefly, using vernacular terms for materials, already referred to above. According to the late Bhai Gian Singh *Naqqash*,[31] who practised the technique for several years, one square foot of brickwork on even wall

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was kept wet to requirement by the continuous sprinkling of water. Thereafter the area was plastered with *'pora'*. On this plaster was cast a layer of *'doga'*. Before casting *'doga'* the *'pora'* was plastered with *'kutta'*, which made lime plaster stronger as well as whiter than its original condition. When the *'doga'* was still wet, the design was drawn.

A more or less similar process was adopted for preparing 'grounds' for dry wall plaster techniques of tempera and fresco-secco paintings; only the materials used and the application seldom reached the refinement required for fresco work. Relatively few murals done in tempera have survived. Some representative examples can be seen in the *haveli* of the Sandhanwalia Sardars at Raja Sansi. The murals here were executed on a fine coat of white clay or gypsum, 2.1 mm in thickness, applied over mud plaster. It appears to be in no way inferior to the coat of lime in semblance; however, being less tenacious, it has peeled off the walls at several spots thus robbing a number of panels of their beauty.

It may be remarked that the fine white plastering process resulting in the formation of 'ground' had grown into a highly developed art in India.[32] The technique was known as *gach-kari*'[33] in Punjab and Haryana. It offered considerable scope for embellishment work in buildings for the ground for fresco painting, gilding, painted gesso work or for plain cut and modelled ornament[34] was similar.

The result of the chemical analysis of some specimens of 'ground' plaster of representative places with mural panels, set forth below add to our knowledge of materials used in the formation of the 'ground'.

Name of the edifice	*Analysis*	*Percentage*
1	2	3
I. Temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali in district Hoshiarpur.[35]	Carbondioxide and Combined Water	40.1 %
	Silica	10.3 %
	R 203	3.5 %
	Calcium Oxide	45.3 %
	Magnesium Oxide	0.5 %
	Total	99.7
II. Haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda at Ferozepur City.[36]	Calcium Carbonate (lime)	61 %
	Acid (HCl) insoluble matter (clay)	39 %
	Total	100
III. Faridkot Fort.[37]	Calcium Carbonate (lime)	68 %
	Acid (HCl) insoluble matter (clay)	32 %
	Total	100

The pigments used in Punjab and Haryana murals do not seem to have been of a wide range, the palette of the muralist being rather austere and limited. The colours used were mostly earth or mineral colours, as few others would stand the action of lime. The use of vegetable pigments was generally avoided, apparently because of their inability to resist the chemical action of lime. All the colours needed were made by the painters themselves, their preparation taxing "greatly their skill, patience and labour."[38]

According to late Bhai Gian Singh *Naqqash*, only six colours : red, green, yellow, blue, black and white were used in fresco painting.[39] Different tones were obtained of all colours except green, by mixing white colour.[40] Green was treated with yellow clay.[41] Red was prepared from an indigenous clay called *'hurmachi'* which was generally imported from hill areas and was available with grocers. It was pulverised on stone slabs while being constantly moistened with water. The intensity of red always depended upon the fineness of the pulverized clay.[42] For obtaining green, small chips of terra-verte,[43] called *'sang-i-sabz'* were pulverised along with water.

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Yellow was obtained from yellow clay and blue was made from lapis-lazuli. Deep blue obtained from indigo was used in later works. Black was prepared from burnt coconut crust[44] or from the smoke of mustard oil burnt in earthen lamp.[45] *'Doga'*, the curdlike substance obtained from filtering water-drenched burnt marble chips, served as white colour. The colours were kept wet with water in earthen receptacles while work was in progress.

It might be useful to have here in a tabular form, a list of the colours employed with their local names.

Sr. No.	Name of colour	Local name	Type of pigment	Source of pigment	Hue (corresponding to the hues of popularly known colours)	Comments
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Red	(a) *Geru*	Mineral	Prepared from red-ochre, a type of iron oxide.[46]	Light red	Red has been used ranging from light red to brown. Shades like *gulabi* or pink and *badami* or almond-coloured were obtained by mixing with other colours.
		(b) *Hurmachi*	Mineral	Prepared from a clay called *'hurmachi'* or *'hurmizi'*, a type of iron oxide.[47]	Indian red	
		(c) *Sandhuri*	Chemical	Made from red lead.	Vermilion	
		(d) *Singarfi*	Mineral	Made from cinnabar or red sulphide of mercury.	Vermilion	
2.	Yellow	(a) *Pila* or *Zardi*	Mineral	Made from (1) yellow clay popularly known as *gachni* or Multani mitti;[48] and (2) by pulverising *pila pathar*.[49]	Yellow ochre	Yellow has been used in various shades but most of these are the variations of yellow ochre.
		(b) *Harital*[50]	Mineral	Made from *harital* or orpiment, a yellow mineral of arsenic group.	Indian yellow	Shades like *khaki* or buff, *narangi* or orange, and *fakhati* or pigeon grey, were obtained by mixing other colours.
		(c) *Peori* or *gau-goli*	Chemical	Obtained from the urine of a cow fed on mango leaves.[51]	Deep yellow	

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Blue	(a) *Lajward*	Mineral	Obtained from powdered lapis-lazuli	Ultramarine blue	Blue was not a popular colour with mural painters.
		(b) *Nila*	Organic	Made from indigo	Deep blue/ blue violet	It has been used only sparingly especially in earlier paintings.
4.	Green	(a) *Sabz*	Mineral	Made from terra verte stone known as *'sang-i-sabz'*.[52]	Malachite green	It was darkened by mixing with *hurmachi*.
		(b) *Jangal*	Inorganic	Prepared from powdered verdigris.	Greek green	
5.	White	*Supheda*	Mineral/ inorganic	Made from : (1) burnt marble chips, drenched in water and then filtered; (2) powdered conch shell; (3) white chalk and (4) zinc-white.	Zinc White	White was mostly used for obtaining different tones of colours.
6.	Black	*Kajal*	Inorganic	Made from : (1) burnt coconut or almond crust; (2) smoke of mustard oil; (3) black soot obtained from iron griddles (4) pulverised charcoal and by burning ivory.	Lamp black	Black had a very deep shining surface. Direct use of black was seldom made and it was mostly used to create darker shades of other colours. Before burning, almond crusts were coated with mustard oil.

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As a case study, chemical analysis of the pigments of mural panels in the Bairagi temple at Ram Tatwali in Hoshiarpur district was made and yielded the following results : [53]

Red	:	Red ochre
Green	:	Terra verte
Blue	:	Ultramarine
Black	:	Carbon black
White	:	Lime

The source of golden colour to be seen only in the frescoes of the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala, is not known with certainty. In the presence of some evidence of Pahari painters having been associated with the work on the *Shish Mahal* frescoes,[54] it is likely that they followed the same technique for obtaining golden colour which their predecessors had been employing in the Hills, *i.e.*, gold was used in the form of leaf for broad work and '*halkari*' (soluble gold) when finer work was done.[55]

Many of the pigments, if not very finely ground, were well washed in water. The *peori* or deep yellow, obtained from the urine of a cow fed on mango leaves contained salt, which was eliminated by thorough washing before grinding to ensure that the colour did not fade away with time. The colours became lighter after the plaster dried, and necessary allowance was made for this change. The finished colour applications looked smooth, even and compact.

These traditional colours, despite the artist's clear awareness that they were more lasting and durable, were gradually beginning to be superseded by European-made colours by the 70's of the last century. In fact the 'wave' of European-made colours, poor as they were, as substitute for permanent indigenous colours, was beginning to engulf many regions.[56] Brilliant aniline dyes found their way into muralists' art, as much as in other industries requiring use of colours.[57]

The thickness of layers of pigment varied slightly from one place to another. Paint layers from two places, measured with a micrometer attached to the eyepiece of microscope, have given following results:

Name of the edifice	*Thickness of paint layer*
1. *Haveli* of Sandhanwalia Sardars at Raja Sansi.	0.5 mm
2. Temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala.	0.1 mm

The 'binding medium', or the means by which pigments were attached to the ground so as to make the work firm and lasting, differed according to the technique adopted. The adhesion of pigments to the 'ground' in fresco painting was due to a chemical process, involving lime as the binding agent. Among the ingredients of ground plaster were sand, lime and calcium hydroxide. When colours mixed in lime-water were introduced to the still wet plaster surface, the pigments were soaked through with the hydrate of lime. In the process of drying, a chemical change took place : the hydroxide was converted first into oxide and then, gradually, as it was in contact with air which contained carbon dioxide, it changed into calcium carbonate : the resulting surface was reasonbly resistant to atmospheric action.

Unlike in the Italian process of fresco-buono, colours in the Indian process of fresco painting were united to the plaster, not only chemically, by the action of lime, but also by the mechanical action of beating colours with a trowel into the surface of the 'ground'.[58] The polishing or rubbing-in of colours with a small iron spatula passed over the surface was peculiar to the Indian practice.[59]

In fresco-secco technique, painting was done on the wall, when the plaster had already dried, with pigments ground in lime-water. Lime-water served as a 'binding agent', but quite often, colours were also tempered with some kind of organic medium. Tempera or distemper painting was a method of painting in which solid pigments were employed, mixed with water as a medium, with some kind of dissolved gum to prevent the colours scaling off. Gum obtained from a tree like acacia was the major

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'binding agent'. Because of religious taboo, bone-glue or leather-glue were avoided. It appears that cheese, which could be transformed into a sticky liquid by mixing with different solvents, was also used as one of the 'binding agents'. With all this, however, tempera painting could not stand exposure to weather for long, and was thus ill-suited for external decoration : the colours being surface deep, did not become part of the stucco. Coats of varnish, applied to the surface to preserve the pigments, are seen only quite rarely, possibly because, they gave a brownish tint to the surface and affected the original beauty of the colours. It also appears that varnishing came in only with the advent of European influence.[60] The technique of burnishing left little need for the coat of varnish on painted surface in terms of surface appearance, for if properly done, it gave a distinct glaze to the paintings.[61] It has unfortunately not been possible for me to confirm the type of 'binding agent' used in wall-paintings, alluded to by Lt. Barr as 'paintings in oil',[62] because the murals which he was describing are on the Pakistan side of the Punjab and I could not gain any access to them.

In addition to the plastering of the 'ground' and preparation of pigments, the making of a 'cartoon' or a drawing prepared to the size of the wall-painting, was one of the important works preliminary to painting a mural. Cartoons were not invariably used, and the making of a cartoon depended on two factors : (1) on the quality of work aimed at and (2) on the space and size of the surface available.

For ambitious works aiming at excellence and sumptuousness, greater efforts were put in the matter of better drawings and designs. The possibility of models, 'modellos'[63] of the Italian masters, being prepared for the entire composition of a painting or set of paintings is not to be ruled out.[64] On the basis of these models, full-size drawings of whole compositions were drawn in pencil or charcoal[65] on a sheet of reasonably thick paper. The entire drawing was then pricked, care being taken to see that the perforation was even and perfect. This perforated drawing, constituting the 'cartoon', was called a *khaka*.[66] For works of an ordinary order, the sequence to be painted was drawn directly on paper and then converted into a *khaka* by perforating the drawing. It is true at the same time that many hand did not make use of *khakas*, for they had acquired the facility of executing drawings direct on the 'intonaco' surface. The *khakas* and outline sketches of popular themes, drawn by gifted artists, were also available for sale[67] in big towns and must have been a boon for lesser artists[68] who were poor at producing good drawings of their own.

Although most of the drawings for mural panels with 'portraits' were made from imagination, many portaits must have been drawn from life also. This is indicated by the observation of Capt. Leopold Von Orlich[69] also. That pains were taken for drawing portraits from life is alluded to in a romantic tale[70] that has an episode in which a likeness is drawn after seeing reflection in water, and is then transferred onto a wall. Interestingly enough, a set of three extant mural panels in the Shiv temple at Lasara, a village in district Jullundur, depict a lady drawing a portrait from life.

The dimensions of mural-panels depended on the space available, and varied from the size of a usual miniature to as much as eight times as large;[71] cartoons, in their most developed forms, were exactly of the same size as the mural panels. It could be of great interest if we were to determine the method that was used for achieving large compositions which covered the entire walls like the one, twelve feet long by six feet in height, in the fort of the Hari Singh Nalwa at Gujranwala.[72] Did the designer, one wonders, enlarge from a drawing with the help of proportional squares on the wall itself ? There exists no direct evidence to say that he did. If a pierced cartoon was pounced or traced on to the wall, it would be obvious that either full-sized outline drawings or an enormous scale were used entire or that small details of individual figures were separately used to make the whole.

Native paper made of old *'tat-patti'*,[73] bleached, washed and reduced to pulp, available in various sized sheets of different qualities, and known by different names, was used for preparing cartoons. The best paper was manufactured at Sialkot and was preferred by the muralists. The drawing was pricked with a fine needle, mounted in a piece of wood for a

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handle, with a greater attention being paid to faces, hands and feet etc.

Pouncing was done by rubbing over perforated lines with a cloth ball filled with charcoal dust. A square of a fairly closely woven cloth was laid out and filled with charcoal dust. By lifting the edges together this ball was formed; a strong cord was tied around the neck making it into a '*potli*'.[74] Careful dusting of the lines prevented charcoal from flying over the 'intonaco' and left a fairly good 'spolveri' : the dotted marks left by charcoal dust flicked through the holes. By pressing lines in the soft 'intonaco' with the help of a stylus, unperforated drawings were also sometimes transferred to plaster.

As for brushes, the painter generally made his own according to his needs.[75] For ordinary work, brushes were made of goat and camel hair and for subjects requiring high finish, squirrel's hair bound in pigeon's quills was pressed into service.[76] These brushes were beautifully made and were in no way inferior to those manufactured in Europe.[77]

After the drawing was transferred on to the 'intonaco', colours were then set into it with thehelp of a small wooden shovel, with a slight hunch in the middle; this was known as *nehla*.[78] This shovel was constantly, gently 'thumped' on the plaster in such a way that the colour did not get rubbed or mixed with the neighbouring colour. This process was continued till the colours had become one with the plaster.[79] The whole operation required very close concentration and artists were known to have often gone without meals to ensure the setting in of colours before the plaster dried up.[80] Once the original colours were 'established' into the 'intonaco', further colour coatings were applied for bringing in details, giving tones as desired, and for imparting final touches to the painting.

In a number of edifices in the cis-sutlej state of Patiala, miniature paintings executed on paper were made to serve as 'murals'.[81] Shallow recesses corresponding to the dimensions of the miniatures were left in the walls, and these paintings done on paper were inserted and covered with glass. This mode of embellishment was confined only to the interiors. Probably the upper apartment of Hari Singh's villa at Gujranwala referred to by Lt. Barr, was also embellished in this way; many of these paintings, as the Lt. describes, had succumbed to the faminine weapon of slippers.[82]

Because of the easy availability of limestone in the Shivalik Hills, the surface of walls was given a relatively good coat of *chunam* at places that were not far from this range of mountains. The quality of the *chunam* coat in areas around Bhatinda and Talwandi Sabo however was generally poor, possibly because of the difficulty of getting lime in good quantity.

This brief study of the technique of mural painting would remain incomplete without some mention of the native practice of surface decoration on wood. The ground there was first prepared by covering the wood with cloth or with the fibre of *san* (Crotolaria Juncea), mixed with whiting and glue.[83] The decoration usually confined to designs, was done in water colour, and protected by a coating of varnish. Use of linseed oil as a medium in the surface decoration of wood gained popularity in the last quarter of the 19th century.[84]

It is time now to turn to style.

Most of the 19th century European travellers through upper India, who are our eye-witnesses for these wall-paintings did not much appreciate the 'native' art of embellishing walls. They saw wall-paintings as having been fashioned in 'the most grotesque'[85] style, 'ridiculous'[86] to look at, executed in 'bad taste'.[87] Few art critics and historians of Indian art in this century have paid close attention to wall-paintings of Punjab and Haryana. The few that have done this have regarded these with a superior air and pronounced them to be the result of an indifferent, if not inferior, activity.[88] Had there been any serious attempt at examining this art, the severity of some of the remarks, I believe, would surely have been considerably less. To quote Roopa Krishna :[89] "If we look at these paintings from the stand point of those masters who painted them, and take a reasonable and sympathetic view of the conventions and traditions by which they were

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guided in the expression and delineation of these ideas, we will surely find a great deal of art and beauty in these old paintings, which we cannot but fail to realize even if we apply to them the standard of realistic representation which is, however, foreign and even inimical to their conceptions."

Wall-paintings in 19th century Punjab and Haryana were obviously painted in a 'traditional style', and may in general character be described as 'decorative', following an ornamental scheme. It is clear that these murals have nothing to do with the great style of the murals from ancient India, because that tradition had already died out in the medieval period. These were a continuation of the somewhat rough style that had for long been common in the 18th century Punjab,[90] with additions made from time to time derived from the mural styles prevalent in the neighbouring Hill States and Rajasthan.

Again, in the work of 19th century Punjab and Haryana no attempt appears to have been made towards achieving any marked individuality in style. It thus becomes difficult to consider the stylistic traits of these paintings by making as its basis the works of individual painters : only some general observations can be made.

As has been observed, in respect of the division of surface in mural arts, two things can ordinarily happen : either the pictorial representation follows the shape and size of the surface itself, or it introduces the illusion of other spatial dimensions—for example depth. Generally speaking, the subservience of pictorial representation to the shape and size of surface in wall-paintings from Punjab and Haryana, is more apparent in purely ornamental paintings and less in those that are narrative. The general rule that "construction should be decorated decoration should never be purposely constructed"[91] seems to have been faithfully followed, with the painted scheme trying to adjust itself to the pre-structural articulations.

There is a striking 'range and readiness' of approach in the relationship between painting and architecture, something that is usually much more complex. More often than not, the architect or *mistri*, who used to be skilled in several crafts,[92] was himself a wall painter in the Punjab[93] and Haryana, as he was in the Punjab Hills.[94] Despite this, difficulties of co-ordination between the architecture and the mural, sometime arose because of the variety of walls and their dimensions, and fixed architectural orders like doors, windows and alcoves, which could not be altered. In fact, barring a few 'grand' structures, architectural planning,[95] clearly incorporating schemes of embellishments, was seldom done with much care.

The wall forming a vertical plane, was usually divided by horizontal and vertical lines, forming rectangular and square panels, frequently of uniform, occasionally of different dimensions. Effort was made to achieve a sense of unity in all the walls by creating a relationship through similarity of panels,[96] at least in the walls facing each other. Other patterns of divisions were also adopted, but all these were generally based on horizontal and vertical lines drawn across the surface of the wall. Generally the horizontal panels were painted on the space nearer the ceiling and vertical panels lower down on the walls. Sometimes the panels simply constituted a frieze skirting a ceiling,[97] the rest of the wall being left either bare or embellished with floral designs of various descriptions. The division of walls into panels could have been perfectly symmetrical but for interruptions of surface caused by the structure of the building. The rigidity and tenseness of these divisions was sought to be relieved by floral decoration that covered all space of the walls around rectangular and square pictures and brought about a harmony of feeling. It had become almost a convention with the muralists to give to the upper edge of panels the arched appearance of an Indian style alcove (resembling to a certain extent the 'tudor arch' of western architectural terminology). Visually, this virtually altered the rigid geometrical shape of panels. The rectangular or square features were also offset by an almost excessive use of curviforms, both inside and outside the panels.

Although the compositions of murals were not based on any hard and fast rules, certain common traits discernible in many of the extant murals, point

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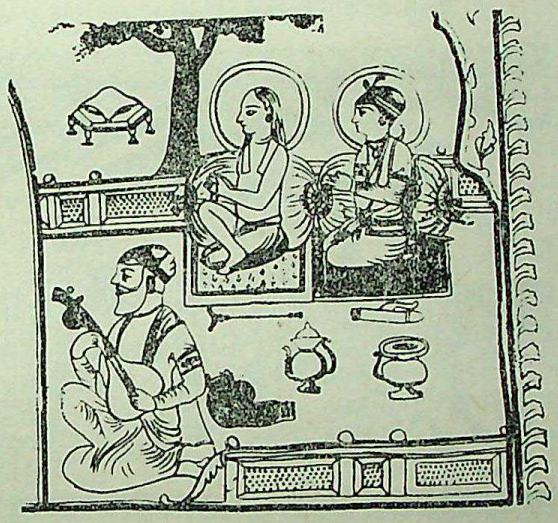

42. Sri Chand and Lakhmi Chand, the two sons of Guru Nanak Dev. A drawing based on a wall-painting of **Gurudwara** *of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, district Amritsar.*

to the painter's intention to compose his works in accordance with certain graphic principles. These he applied while preparing drawings to the size of murals preparatory to painting mural panels. The figures and other pictorial elements were so composed as to fit neatly into the space available for painting. The effort to utilize the available space in the best possible way, often led the painters to choose a theme which, in its graphic representation, would adapt well to the shape and size of the surface to be embellished. The result often was the juxtaposition of divergent themes, without any integral relationship. This is how, in the running chain of narrative themes, there appears, quite unexpectedly, sometimes, a representation of a bird or an animal entirely unrelated to the subjects illustrated. The consideration here is obviously that of space and dimension rather than of unity of theme. An elegant figure of a peacock in the *gurudwara* of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, thus, may be cited as a representative example of a graphic shape being composed to adjust to a horizontally elongated space. That the surface to be embellished was made the best use of, is also apparent from the representation of *rasa-lila* which demanded a circular composition, and was therefore usually painted on the inside of a dome, which had the necessary circular space. It is not unoften that the orderly setting or division of surface imparts a certain serenity to the paintings, a sense of rhythmic and spatial order. The severity of compositions created by geometric divisions of the background were offset by the rounded forms and the flowing costumes of figures, imparting a vigour to them.

The division of space, either static or dynamic, was mostly determined by the theme to be depicted, in the former, movement being delibrately avoided and in the latter movement being a principal characteristic. In a panel at *gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai, depicting the four sons of Guru Gobind Singh on horseback, thus, galloping horses and speeding dogs establish the required atmosphere of action. The same is true of another painting in the *samadh* of Baba Mahesh Das at Pindori near Gurdaspur, representing 'Churning of the Ocean' and the Matsya *avatara* in a single panel. Here the turbulent waters of the ocean are shown with sweep-

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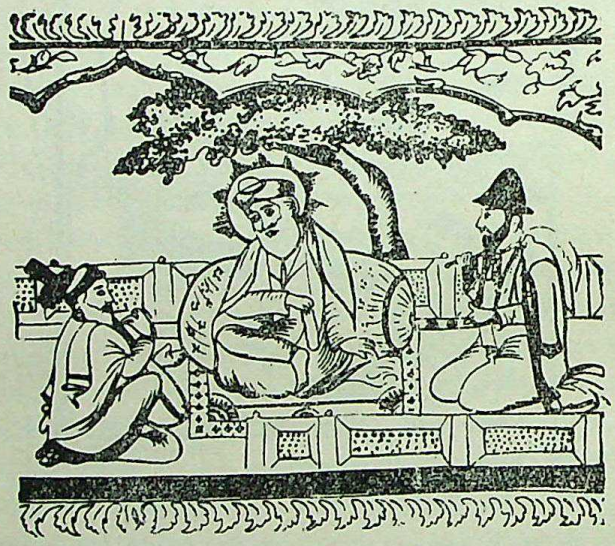
ing lines and forcefully drawn curvilinear shapes of fishes.

The importance of major characters in a composition was stressed by taking attention away from the background detail; but wherever the background detail too was also elaborated, major characters were sometimes made to predominate by the use of certain colours restricted to them alone. This is seen with striking effect in the frescoes of the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala. The significance of major characters was also emphasized by carrying the viewer from clearly articulated figures close to the picture plane back to an unexpressed infinity. The device of indicating importance through varying the scale is often used. A mural panel in *akhara* Beri Wala at Amritsar, thus, represents the *'Jangi-lat'* with a relatively big figure and emerges quite dominating in the army that follows him.

Of the two principles of symmetrical and optical balance, the painters often preferred the former, but did make on occasions successful use of the latter in composing murals. Most of the themes, by the very nature of their character, demanded symmetrical balance. The principal figure was set in the centre, and flanked by lesser characters. This was done, for instance, while depicting Guru Nanak along with Bala and Mardana or Ranjit Singh with his attendants. Thus the symmetrical balance was built up round an important central figure or axis, with one or two subordinate motifs or groupings on either side. It is interesting that some of the symmetrically balanced 19th century mural compositions seem to retain their vigour upto this time. The genesis of several modern oleographs, representing the ten Sikh Gurus in a circular or oval composition, thus, can be seen in a panel in *akhara* Kashi Wala at Amritsar and also in another one in the *Qila* Mubarak at Chhachhrauli.

With time, many compositions, once fresh, became conventionalised into traditional schemes and pictorial patterns. A most typical example is the figure of Guru Gobind Singh on horseback, holding a falcon and accompanied by a hound and a few attendants. This nearly symmetrically-achieved pattern had all the qualities of the best compositions



43. Guru Nanak Dev flanked by Bala and Mardana. A drawing based on a wall-painting of the **samadh** *of Baba Khuda Singh at Naurangabad, district Amritsar.*

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of Punjab and Haryana murals. The success of this composition perhaps tempted painters to adapt it to other themes as well.

Although the compositional device of grouping figures was known to the painters and was done with some competence, the general preference was for keeping the figures distinct from each other, as was often done in *Pahari* murals.[98] One of the most representative examples of oversecting figures is seen in an extant mural panel in the *dera* of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur. Here are seen Radha and Krishna almost merging into each other. The figures are so arranged that while their faces are distinct, the remaining parts of the body tend gracefully to fuse.

The size of human figures varied according to the dimensions of panels, but on the average these remained nearly life-size. Sometimes of course figures were life-size and even larger.[99] The number of figures in a composition depended naturally on the nature of theme depicted, and ran sometimes to as many as a thousand.[100] A panel depicting the marriage procession of Guru Nanak in Baba Atal, consisting of more than a hundred figures, may be cited as a typical example of a crowded scene in which the centre of interest remains the major character.

Although well done portraits in frontal view were not rare, the rule remained : 'portraiture in profile'. In this convention, while the face was shown in profile, shoulders and body were sometimes viewed three quarter. Many of the figures represented were well known characters from history and, although treated ideally, the personality could be identified with ease. Several portraits, with likenesses of exceptional interest, indicate that the painters had a certain competence in portraiture. Most of the portraits were painted against flat white background. Light and shade or cast shadows, as ordinarily understood, were sparingly used in paintings of the earlier period, but in portraits executed in the last quarter of the 19th century, we find the painter influenced in his use of light and shade by European painting. Details of dress as well as personal paraphernalia were often elaborately painted.

Most of the religious personalities, particularly the Sikh Gurus, were portrayed with a nimbus in the murals. The nimbus often took the shape of a yellow-coloured circle around the head, radiating rays, but in the mural panels of the Akal Takhat at Amritsar, the nimbuses were formed of dark-coloured circles which brought into relief the faces of the Gurus. The figures of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and of some of the rulers of the Cis-Sutlej States were also portrayed with nimbuses.

In the treatment of human figures much care was spent on the face than on the rest of the body. Thus, while facial expressions in several mural panels are remarkable, the hands, and particularly the feet, are carelessly drawn.

Perspective as such was not carefully employed and only an incipient attempt in the direction was made through converging architectural lines and relatively small figures or trees shown in the background. The mural panels representing *barā-masa* poetry in the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala, are perhaps, the most ambitious efforts of this kind.

Elements of folk-work, which was considerably in vogue in Punjab and Haryana,[101] are seen in plenty in some of the wall-paintings. While 18th century murals in the *mari* of Baba Sidh at Mari Mustafa, a village in district Faridkot and in the temple of Shri Nam Dev at Ghoman in district Gurdaspur, are rough in character, 19th century murals at several places, including in the temple of *Shri* Kalu Nath at Nathana, the *samadh* of Baba Sarb Sukh, Sarb Dyal, Gopal Das and Bhagwan Das at Jandali, a village in district Sangrur, *Gurudwara* Angitha Sahib at Khadur Sahib in district Amritsar and the Nirankari *Dera* at Patiala bristle with elements of folk-painting, with their simple, bold and clear forms and austerely used colours. It appears that most of these paintings are not the work of professional mural painters but were executed by *raj-mistries* who were engaged to construct these edifices.

Although the colours used in wall-paintings were not of as wide a range as were used in contemporary

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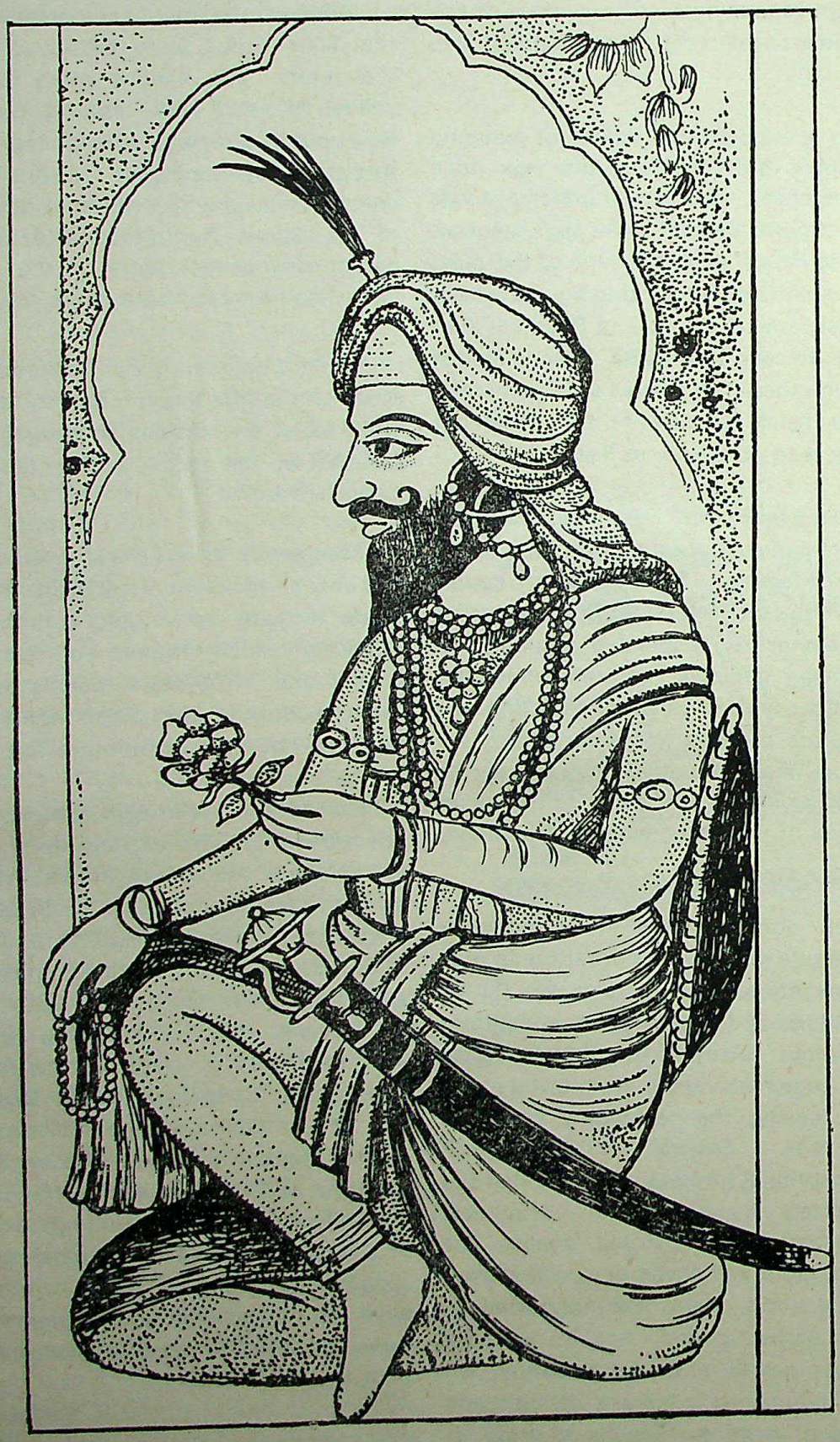

44. Portrait of Raja Dhian Singh Dogra. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Bairagi **thakurdwara** *at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.*

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45. Guru Gobind Singh on horseback with an attendant behind. A drawing based on a wall-painting of **Gurudwara** *Angitha Sahib at Khadur Sahib, district Amritsar.*

miniatures, this did not affect the process of embellishing the walls. The law that governed the use of colours seemed to have been simple : light against dark and *vice versa*. The entire colour-scheme was so planned as to make isolate the various forms and make them distinct by the contrast of the colours used. This mode also fitted in with the intention of the painter to make the viewer focus on a particular spot or on the central action that the painting meant to illustrate. Balance of colour was often accomplished through careful manipulation of hue, value and intensity.

From a consideration of the style and the technique visible in some important wall-paintings of 19th century Panjab like those in the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala, the *Thakurdwara* of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala, the *Dera* of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur, the Raghunath temple at Pindori, *Gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari at Una, *Akhara* Bala Nand at Amritsar, *Gurudwara* Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, Shri Palkiana Sahib near village Jaura on the Tarn Taran-Patti road, the *Samadh* of Baba Dyal Dass at Barnala, *Gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai; it would be clear that 19th century Punjab muralists knew how to deploy their technical knowledge and stylistic potential to advantage, thus creating work that commands respect, even admiration, at times.

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References

1. Most of the information on the traditional methods of mural painting, incorporated in this chapter, was collected from S. Atma Singh, who was interviewed by me at Amritsar in June 1971. His forefathers were mural painters and he himself is practising this profession to this date.
2. See Jagdish Mittal, "Chamba", *Marg*, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 24.
3. I am grateful to the post-graduate and Research Institute of the Deccan College, Poona, for analysing the plaster and for sending me the results with their letter No. 701 (3)/7841 dated November 28, 1973.
4. See *Hoshiarpur D.G. 1904*, p. 149.
5. *Ibid.*
6. See E.B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 268.
7. See Major S.S. Jacob, "Fresco Painting", *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, No. 360, 1881, p. 204.
8. *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.
9. Major S.S. Jacob, *loc. cit.*, p. 203.
10. Marble was imported from Jodhpur; *See* Giani Hira Singh Dard, "Sri Tarn Taran Ji de Puratan Itihas", *Phulwari* (P), No. 6-7, May 1933, p. 499.
11. *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.
12. *Ibid.*
13. E.B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 268.
14. See Edmund W. Smith, "Decorative Painting from the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah at Agra", *J.I.A.*, VI, No. 51, July 1895, p. 92.
15. Jagdish Mittal, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.
16. Analysis done by Post-Graduate and Research Institute of the Deccan College, Poona.
17. See K.C. Aryan, "Technical Notes", *Marg*, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 15.
18. Thomas Holbein Hendley, "Decorative Art in Rajputana", *J.I.A.*, No. 21, II, 1888, p. 47.
19. cf., S. Paramasivan, "Indian Wall-Paintings", *Journal of Madras University*, XII, No. 1, January 1940, p. 124.
20. Pandit Baru Mal, interviewed at Nakodar, vividly remembers to having supplied a number of bottles containing honey for use in the murals of the *thakurdwara* of Lala Chuhar Mal. The murals were painted in V.S. 1975 (=1918 A.D.).
21. See O.P. Agrawal, "A Study of the Techniques of Indian Wall-Paintings" *Journal of Indian Museums*, XXV-XXVI, 1969-70, p. 103.
22. See S. Paramasivan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 121-124; O.P. Agrawal, *loc. cit.*, pp. 101-103.
23. Eve Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany*, glossary.
24. See E.B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pp. 288-89.
25. With a micrometer attached to eyepiece of the microscope, the thickness of 'intonaco' layers of frescoes in the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala and *gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai were measured and found to be 1.3 mm and 2.1 mm respectively.
26. Shri O.P. Agrawal, Chief Chemist and Head, Central Conservation Laboratory, was kind enough to examine the plaster of murals of Ram Tatwali. The polish of lime suface at the places where paint had fallen suggested that the burnishing technique of plastering was used.
27. See Kapur Singh Ghuman (ed.), *Dina Kangar Survey Pustak* (P), p. 64.
28. See Edmund W. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 92.
29. J.L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement), *J.I.A.*, No. 10, April 1886, np.
30. *Chatrik Abhinandan Granth* (P), p. 112.
31. See *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.
32. E.B. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 192.
33. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature*, p. 293.
34. E.B. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 192-93.
35. I am grateful to Shri O.P. Agrawal for analysing the plaster and for sending its report vide his letter No. NW/lab. C-2, dated February 19, 1973.
36. The analysis was done by the Post-Graduate and Research Institute of the Deccan College, Poona and its report was sent to me vide letter No. 701(3)/7841, dated November 28, 1973.
37. *Ibid.*
38. S.G. Thakur Singh, "Fresco Painting of Golden Temple, Amritsar", *Indian Art Souvenir*, np.
39. *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, pp. 27-28.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Marg*, X, No. 2. March 1957, p. 28.

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43. S.G. Thakur Singh, *loc. cit.*, np.
44. *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.
45. S.G. Thakur Singh, *loc. cit.*, np.
46. See Percy Brown, *Indian Painting*, p. 123.
47. *Ibid.*
48. See Percy Brown, *Indian Painting*, p. 123.
49. Major S.S. Jacob, *loc. cit.*, p. 265; E.B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 271.
50. See Kahn Singh Nabha, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
51. See Karl Khandalvala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, p. 273.
52. S.G. Thakur Singh, *loc, cit.*, np.
53. The analysis was done by Shri O.P. Agrawal, Chief Chemist and Head, Central Conservation Laboratory, New Delhi.
54. See B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting : An Analysis of some Aspects of Patronage", *Oriental Art*, XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 47.
55. Jagdish Mittal, *loc cit.*, p. 24.
56. See Edmund W. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 92.
57. T.N. Mukharji, *Art Manufactures of India*, p. 13.
58. E.B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 267.
59. J.L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement, *J.I.A.* No. 10, April 1886, np.
60. See J.C. French, "Art of Chamba", *Art and Letters*, XXV. No. 2, 1951, p. 47.
61. See Lt. Barr, *Journal*, p. 137.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
63. Eve Borsook, *op. cit.*, glossary.
64. The excellently planned frescoes in *Shish Mahal* at Patiala, for instance, could not have been painted directly. The *'khakas'* used for painting mural panels in Rani Mahal at Nabha were recently acquired by the Department of Archaeology, Punjab.
65. *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.
66. *Ibid.*
67. It is most likely that the 'dealers in pictures' enlisted by Ibbetson in *Report on the Census of Punjab 1881*, II, Table No. XII B, in addition to their primary dealings in pictures, were also the sellers of *khakas*. These were available in the market well up to the end of the first quarter of the 20th century. Murals in the shrine of Guga Pir at Chhapar, a village in district Ludhiana, painted in 1923, were, I was told, based on *khakas* purchased from Jagraon.
68. See O.C. Gangoli, *Ragas and Raginies*, p. 151.
69. See *Travels in India, including Sindh and the Punjab*, I. p. 206.
70. See Charles Swynnerton, *Romartic Tales from the Punjab*. pp. 228-236.
71. See *E.W.A.*, VIII, p. 209.
72. Lt. Barr, *Journal*, p. 130.
73. B.H. Baden-Powell, *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, II, p. 77.
74. *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.
75. *Ibid.*, 28.
76. See Edmund W. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 92.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 28.
79. The process closely resembled the fresco painting practised in Jaipur. See. Major S.S. Jacob, *loc. cit.*, p. 205; cf., Satya Prakash, "A Note on some typical, Jaipur Fresceos", *Lalit-Kala*, Nos. 1-2, April 1955-March 1956, p. 138.
80. *Marg*, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 28.
81. These are to be seen in *Diwankhana Kadim* at Patiala, *gurudwara* of Sri Guru Teg Bahadur, both at Bahadurgarh and in old Moti Bagh at Patiala, in the Rani-Mahal at Nabha and also in the Devi Durga Mandir at Payal in district Ludhiana.
82. *Journal*, p. 138.
83. J.L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement), *J.I.A.*, No. 10, April 1886, np; cf., T.N. Mukharji, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
84. J.L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement), *J.I.A.*, No. 10. April 1886, np.
85. Lt. Barr, *Journal*, pp. 99, 141; Charles Masson *Narrative of Various Journeys in Beluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, I, p. 414.
86. Lt. Barr, *Journal*, pp. 71, 130.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
88. See. J. Ph. Vogel, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", *J.P.H.S.*, I. No. 1, 1911, p. 53; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, I, p. 25; J.C. French, *Himalyan Art*, p. 89.
89. "Some Fresco Paintings in the Lahore Fort", *Rupam*, Nos. 27-28, October 1926, p. 88.
90. W.G. Archer, *Paintings of the Sikhs*, p. 18.
91. Owen Jones, *Grammer of Ornamant*, pp. 5-6,
92. J.L. Kipling, "Indian Architecture of Today", *J.I.A.*, No. 3, July 1884, pp. 1-2.
93. Most of the artisans did all jobs allied to their trade; See Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 376.
94. Mulk Raj Anand, "Some Notes on the Composition of Pahari Murals", *Marg*, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 9.

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95. For instance, the architectural plan of the *samadh* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was duly laid out before the commencement of its construction. *See* Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans in Connection with India and Persia*, p. 546.

96. This is evident, for instance, in the mural panels painted in *Shish Mahal* at Patiala.

97. For instance, in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra, in the *gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari at Una and in the *haveli* of Sandhanwalia Sardars at Raja Sansi.

98. See Mera Seth, *Wall Paintings of the Western Himalayas*, p. 96.

99. The murals depicting members of Sikh royalty on the walls of the Ramgarhia *Bunga* at Amritsar, now almost obliterated, were larger than the size of life.

100. Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab*, p. 284.

101. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Wall Decoration of Punjab and Haryana Peasantry", *The Sunday Tribune*, Feb. 13, 1977, p. 5.

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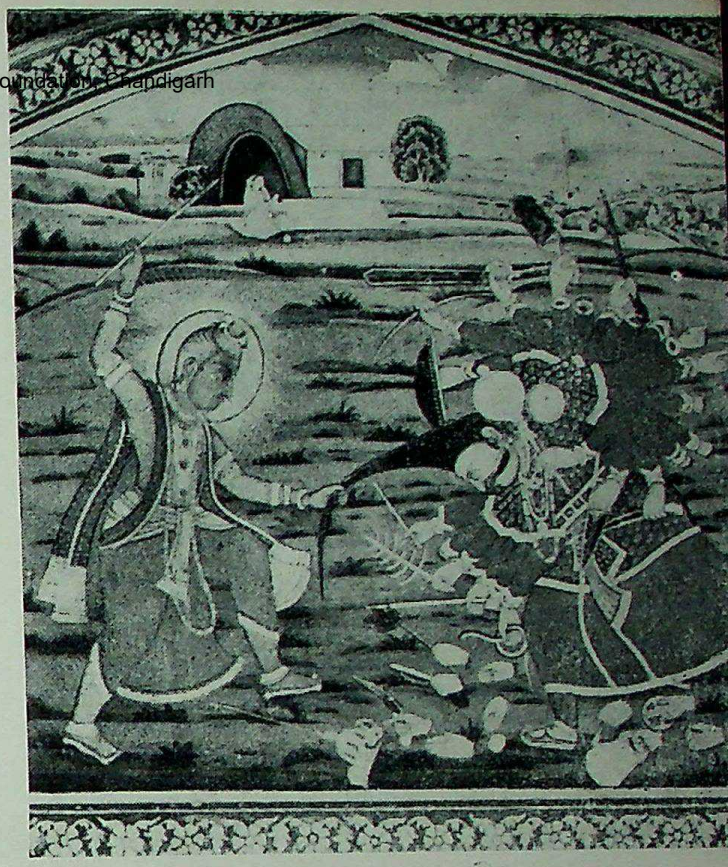
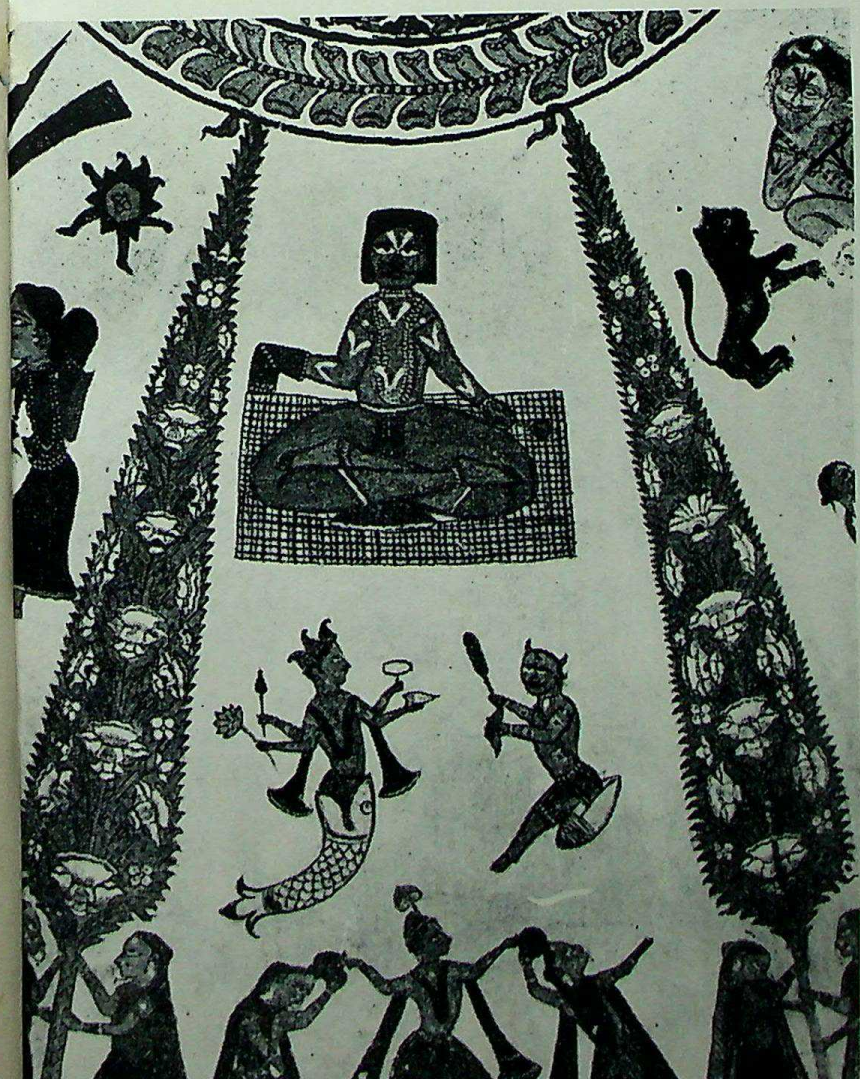


Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala.

21 : The struggle between Kshatriyas and Brahmans is reflected in Vishnu's sixth incarnation as Parasurama, Rama with the axe, who is seen in this panel holding multi-armed king Karthavirya by his hair-lock and hacking off his arms. The sage, Jamadagni, from whom Karthavirya had stolen *Kamadhenu,* the magic cow, lies in the background of the picture supported by his wife, Renuka. The magic cow frisks away from the scene on the horizon.

An interior of the dome of the temple of Shri Ram Padha at Kaul, district Kurukshetra.



22 : The circular space on the interior of the domes of religious buildings required to be dealt with differently by the painter than the space on the walls which could be easily divided into horizontal and vertical panels. Krishna's *rasa-lila,* which demanded a circular composition, was, therefore, usually painted on the interior of the dome as its structure provided the necessary circular space. In this picture the lower part depicts *rasa-lila,* in the centre is *Matsya-avatara* and above it is a Vaishnava saint engaged in worship.

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Fresco panel from the Dera of Baba Lal Ji, district Gurdaspur.

23 : The chief centre of Jagannatha's wo rship is the great temple complex at Puri, Orissa. Three statues of Jagannatha, Balarama and his sister Subhadra are enshrined in the main sanctum. The original image of the deity is also copied in other places besides Puri and is found depicted in graphic form too, as we see in this mural. According to tradition, Vishwakarma, the architect of gods, undertook to make the image of Jagannatha on condition that he was undisturbed until it is finished. He, however, was disturbed during his work and thus left the image unfinished, as we see it here, without proper arms and legs. Nevertheless, the figures here are much more alive in their stylized delineation, and seem to herald the work of Jamini Roy.

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24: The combined form in which Shiva became one with his wife is known as Ardhanarishwara—seen delineated in this picture. In Wilkins' words: "Siva as a mendicant supported his wife and children by begging; but on one occasion, owing to use of intoxicating herbs, he was unable to go his rounds. Durga told him there was nothing in the house to eat... Siva then went out to beg, and Durga started for her father's house with the children, but was met by Narada, who advised her, as Annapurna, to lay an embargo on all the food of the houses where Siva asked for alms. The result of this was that no one would give him anything. Narada meeting with Siva advised him to go home: Annapurna met him at the door, and so pleased him by giving him food, that he pressed her to his breast with such force that they became one body."

Miniature painting, executed on paper, inserted into wall and covered with glass to serve as a mural in Qila Mubarak at Patiala.

Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

25: The love story built around Shiva and Parvati, the divine couple, by mythology is well interwoven with the usual torments and whims of people in love. In this picture, with much of their traditional iconographic paraphernalia missing, they are seen in dalliance, gazing penetratingly upon each other. The impact of the composition imparts this painting a look of the contemporary cine-poster.

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Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

26 : The *Ramayana,* a celebrated Indian epic written by poet Valmiki, describes Rama's long and perilous struggle against the *asuras*—under their lord Ravana. Here Rama and his brother Lakshmana are depicted chasing the golden deer, while Ravana, assuming the guise of a wandering *yogi*, begs alms from Sita.

The *Ramayana* material keeps on cropping up in Indian painting in one form or another, having regional figurative affiliations. Shraf Din, a Muslim painter who painted this panel, portrayed Ravana with an attire, headgear and beard that imparted him an image of a Muslim *fakir.*

Mural panel from Nirankari Dera at Patiala.

27 : It cost Rama much suffering and many furious battles to recover his bride. Here Rama on horseback marches towards Lanka accompanied by his brother Lakshmana, ape-king Sugriva and Hanuman and his monkey hordes. Hanuman, son of the wind-god, was to become the greatest and most faithful helper of Rama in his campaign.

Although the composition of the painting is conventionalized and follows the traditional scheme and pictorial pattern, it, nevertheless, clearly bears folkish overtones. Lest the theme be misunderstood by the onlookers, it is explicated through an inscription in *Gurmukhi* characters.

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Mural panel from **Thakurdwara** *of Lala Chuhar Mal at Nakodar, district Jullundur.*

28. Murals illustrating various happenings narrated in epic *Ramayana* are frequently met with. When Rama sent Angada, Vali's son, as his envoy to Ravana, his wise counsel to the demon king to avoid conflict with powerful Rama was not only turned down, but Ravana, instead, advised Angada to cease to be perverse. This made Angada furious and firmly planting his foot on the midst of the whole assembly, he said to Ravana : 'If you can but stir my foot, O fool, Sri Rama will return forthwith and I shall forgo Sita as a lost wager.' Ravana ordered his champions to seize Angada by his leg and dash him to the ground. On his command Meghanatha and other stout warriors rose and rushed with all their might, employing numerious devices, but Angada's foot refused to stir. The happening is graphically represented in this painting.

29. In the great assault on Lanka, Rama's army overcame the demons. This panel shows the monkeys forming a bridge of stones between the mainland and Lanka —gods and monkeys against the *asuras*—in combat. After a dramatic and fierce hand-to-hand fight, Rama killed Ravana. The success of this campaign was the result of an alliance between Rama and ape-king Sugriva. Rama helped Sugriva recover his throne, and the latter in gratitude helped Rama recover his bridge.

Mural panel from the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.

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Mural panel from the **Samadh** *of Lala Balak Ram at Jagadhri, district Ambala.*

30. Ravana had practised severe austerities and obtained a boon of immortality from the gods, however, misusing the boon, he began to persecute both men and gods. Seeing his ruthlessness Vishnu planned his destruction by incarnating himself as man, taking the form of Rama.

Ravana, the villain of the epic *Ramayna* was not without virtues. His ten heads were symbolic of his vast knowledge, proficiency in the six *Shastras* and the four *Vedas*. Barring the foolish pride, together with the tempetations for other's wives, that beset Ravana—his vices represented in the painting by a donkey head above—he favourably compared to many of the heros of the Hindu mythology.

31. After the terrible encounter with Ravana, Rama was able to recover his bride, Sita. Here both are seen seated on a couch, while Lakshmana stands behind in attendance. Hanuman sits in revernce at the feet of Rama. The ape-king Sugriva with monkey hordes stand in obeisance to Rama with folded hands. At a distance, in the background, stands Lanka, ravaged by the war, and the corpse of Ravana, whose severed limbs litter the ground, is being consumed by the vultures.

Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala.

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32. Krishna, the eighth incarnation of the Indian supreme deity Vishnu, is well known in terms of the development of the Indian religion of divine love *(bhakti)* and of Tantric yoga. Krishna's love life, as depicted here in Krishna and Radha fusing into each other, provides the symbolic background to the religious concept of the heavenly or ideal love between God and man. The worship of Krishna and Radha inspired a deeply religious surrender to the beloved god. It was nothing less than a supernatural love, a way of ennobling the profane love of man.

Fresco panel from the **dera** *of Baba Lal ji at Dhianpur, district Gurdaspur.*

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Fresco panel from the portal of the fort of Faridkot.

33. Krishna as Gopinath-ji, the Lord of Milkmaids, is the patron deity of several Hindu sects. A handsome youth and an expert player on the shepherd's flute, he was happiest in the company of the *gopis* or shepherd girls, who were all in love with him. In this fresco panel the divine shepherd appears as the protector of cow and the lovely *gopies* who tended them. The popular iconography of Krishna, in this panel, is apparently ignored by the mural painter by delineating him wearing coat and trousers and a stylized headgear. The diversion from iconography is still more accentuated in showing the flanking milkmaids offering Krishna a glass of milk each.

Mural panel from Qila Mubarak, Patiala.

34. In a number of edifices in the cis. Sutlej states of Patiala, miniature paintings executed on paper were made to serve as murals. Shallow recesses corresponding to the dimensions of the miniatures were left in the walls, and then paintings done on paper were inserted and covered with glass. This mode of embellishment was confined only to the interiors. Here Radha and Krishna, whose love affairs was the subject of countless songs and paintings, gaze at each other with arms entwined.

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Chapter V

Painters and Patrons

The traditional anonymity associated with the craftsmen of India makes it difficult to identify the names of specific painters, for here "creative activity has been regarded as the fulfilment of one's obligation, the redemption of debt to the community of intellectuals of the past".[1] In keeping with this, most of the painters who had painted murals in Punjab and Haryana remain anonymous for us : individual credit was hardly ever claimed.

What we have, on occasions, are names of certain painters who were engaged in embellishing edifices with murals, but material for piecing together any detailed and accurate description of theirs is virtually non-existent. A further complication is the complex situation that prevailed in the 19th century Punjab.[2]

Professional specialization as is current today was rarely known. One person often used to perform not only all the allied works of a trade but also engaged, equally often, in vocations requiring dissimilar skills. In villages, thus, smiths and carpenters also worked as masons.[3] Bhai Partap Singh Mistri of Muktsar, to quote an instance, worked both as an artist and a mason.[4] We hear of the elegant portrait of a princess described in the 'Prince and his Vazir', a sub-legend of Raja Rasalu, as being executed on a wall by a mason[5] who must have been proficient in the trade of the muralist as well. The best *mistries*, according to J.L. Kipling, were often skilled in several crafts.[6] Because of this interpenetration of professions, 'figures for occupation' are the least satisfactory among the results of the census of Punjab held in 1881.[7] More often than not, the architect or *mistri* was himself a wall painter in Punjab and Haryana plains as he was in the Punjab hills.[8] This architect-cum-painter's occupation was in keeping with an early Indian tradition when the court architect also used to be the court painter and joined the court poet and chronicler in recording the deeds of the royal house.[9]

It is to be noted in this context, therefore, that those engaged in wall-painting were not exclusively muralists; they, at the same time, also worked as mason, *naqqash* (designer), *chitera* or *musawar* (painter) and did *mohra-kashi* (fresco), *jaratkari* (stone-inlay), *gach* and *tukri* work, and wood-

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painting; the varied nature of their work was best indicated in the vernacular word by which they were known : '*raj-mistri*'. In fact the trade of '*raj-mistri*' was almost synonymous with the trade of 'architect-cum-painter'. J.L. Kipling, Principal, Mayo School of Art, Lahore, used the vernacular word '*mistri*'[10] to denote the occupation of a craftsman engaged in the many aspects of decorative painting as applied to achitecture.[11] The study of mural painters of the 19th century Punjab, therefore, has to deal with persons engaged in allied trades, including *raj-mistries* or architect-cum-painters.

Although mural painting in a "somewhat rough style"[12] was practised in 18th century Punjab, the real impetus to this art, received in the 1st quarter of the 19th century, was primarily due to the virtual exodus of painters from the hills to the plains.[13] The recent study of Prof. B.N. Goswamy, *Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents*[14] has now confirmed this fact beyond doubt. From this study, which forms a significant source of our information on the patronage of paintings by the Sikhs, we now know that Nikka, Gokal, Chhajju, Harkhu, Damodar and Saudagar, all painters belonging to a distinguished family in the hills, were intimately associated with the Sikhs of the Punjab,[15] the latter having either employed the painters, or patronized their work.

In fact the relations of some Sikh Misaldar Chiefs with some Pahari Painters can now be securely dated back into the 18th century.[16] Jai Singh and Gurbaksh Singh Kanhaiya and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, for instance, begin to appear in Pahari paintings of the late 18th century;[17] this speaks of the interest taken in painting by these chiefs, or at least of the interest taken in them by the Pahari painters. In this context, there might have existed the possibility of some Pahari painter having been commissioned by Jassa Singh Ramgarhia to paint murals in the shrine of Shri Nam Dev at Ghoman in district Gurdaspur. The shrine was raised by the Ramgarhia Chief[18] sometime towards the close of the 18th century.

Excepting very few instances, however, we do not have precise information on the edifices on which painters migrated from the hills were employed in executing murals. All the same, one can generally conclude that many of them were engaged in embellishing edifices with wall-paintings.

The first positive evidence of a Pahari artist having been commissioned to paint murals in the Punjab plains come from Damthal where the famous Vaishnava monastery was embellished by the work of Bishandas of Nurpur.[19] The painter Angad of Sirmur[20] who executed frescoes in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra, was another Pahari painter who was employed to adorn an edifice in the plains of the Punjab. There are several other monuments which can be associated with one or the other of Pahari painters. But because the records are so few and evidence so limited, it is difficult to associate a painter with the wall-paintings of a particular edifice, beyond any doubt.

There is some stylistic evidence to indicate that some Pahari painters, in collaboration with some Rajasthani painters, worked on the elegant frescoes in the *Shish Mahal* at Patiala.[21] As a result of Professor Goswamy's efforts in examining the *bahis* of the *pandas* of Haridwar,[22] we now know of at least two Pahari painters who were working at Patiala about the time that the *Shish Mahal* was erected and frescoes executed in it. One of them was Devi Ditta, a son of Gursahai[23] of the branch of famous Guler family of artists which had settled at Basohli;[24] from Basohli he first went to the Lahore Court[25] and then, in S. 1924 (=A.D. 1867), is found serving Maharaja Mahendra Singh of Patiala.[26] He lived in Mohalla Suigaran at Patiala[27] and seems to have died there in S. 1933 (= A.D. 1874).[28] Another Pahari painter who settled at Patiala and worked under the patronage of Raja Narinder Singh (1846—1862) and Raja Mahendra Singh (1862—1876) was Biba of Guler.[29]

The beautiful frescoes in Raghunath temple within the precincts of the famous Vaishnava monastery at Pindori Mahantan were, in all probability, painted by some gifted Pahari Painter.[30] The frescoes can, on basis of style, be ascribed to a member of the gifted Seu-Nainsukh family of artists, who must have come especially to Pindori for the execution of the work.[31]

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The frescoes executed in the Lahore Fort about the end of Ranjit Singh's reign[32] were also apparently the work of a Pahari painter[33] whose name is not known to us. Four painters, Purkhu,[34] Chhajju, Sajnu and Devi Ditta had migrated from the hills and were working in Lahore at this time. Purkhu, who had been one of Sansar Chand's leading painters,[35] apparently attained a prominent position among the painters of the Sikh Court at Lahore.[36] Both Chhajju and Sajnu, the former a son of Nikka and grandson of the famous Nainsukh, one of the most talented of Pahari artists of the Mussavir Raina family,[37] and the latter belonging to a family of Guleri artists,[38] had been serving the Sikhs at Lahore. Devi Ditta, son of Gursahai,[39] was living, while at Lahore, in the house of Bulaki Missar, in the street of Kanhaiya Kapoor,[40] in Machhihatta locality.[41] There were several sections of the Lahore Fort like the Khwabgah-i-Shahjahani, the Royal Bathroom in Jahangir's Quadrangle, the pavillion in Jahangir's Quadrangle, the Daulat Khana-i-Khas-o-Aam of Akbar, the Shah Burj, the long room opposite Shish Mahal, the Kala Burj, the Roshani Gate,[42] which were embellished with frescoes during the Sikh regime, but it is difficult to say with any certainty which painters were responsible for the work. We only have the view that the Sikhs must have employed a "distinguished artist"[43] from their Court atelier[44] to paint the frescoes in the Lahore Fort. Perhaps one can speculate that the distinguished artist was one or the other of the four painters referred to above, considering the "qualities of good craftsmanship and sensitive imagination and organised composition"[45] in the frescoes.

A clear possibility of Pahari painters having worked in embellishing many other significant edifices of the Sikh royalty and nobility including the *samadh* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the *haveli* of Maharaja Naunihal Singh, and the *samadh* of Maharaja Sher Singh and his *ranis* in Kot Khwaja Saeed,[46] all located in Lahore, can be entertained. The documents brought to light recently by Dr. Goswamy tend to support this view.[47] In one of these, for instance, we find Gokal, the Pahari painter, clearly attached to Maharaja Sher Singh.[48]

According to the late Bhai Gian Singh Naqqash,[49] the only mural depicting human figures in the Golden Temple at Amritsar, was painted by a Kangra artist specially commissioned by Maharaja Ranjit Singh for this purpose. The mural representing 'Guru Gobind Singh and the Five Beloved Ones', is said to be a true copy of a miniature painting that originally was in the collection of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and that Ranjit Singh had wanted it to be copied in the form of a mural in the Golden Temple. Since the creator of the miniature had already died, the mural copied from it was executed by the deceased painter's grandson, we learn.

The Punjab hills was not the only region from where painters came to the Punjab plains; there is also evidence of Rajasthani painters who migrated to the Punjab. A family of Rajasthani painters was apparently working at Patiala[50] from about the middle of the 19th century and, according to a descendant of this family, his ancestors were brought to Patiala by Maharaja Karam Singh (1813-1845) from Jaipur.[51] On the basis of certain stylistic characteristics, like the use of nimbus behind the heads of Radha and Krishna, certain architectural details and facial types in the frescoes of the Shish Mahal at Patiala, all of which are strikingly close to Jaipur work,[52] Dr. Karuna Goswamy has speculatad about a Rajasthani hand collaborating with Pahari painters,[53] and there is reason to believe that the family of Rajasthani painters which migrated from Jaipur was employed in the execution of the Shish Mahal frescoes.

It is interesting that the fresco process of wall-painting, popularly called '*mohra-kashi*' in the Punjab, was also known by the name of 'Jodhpuri *hunar*'.[54] This is likely to imply that the technique was imported from Jodhpur and hints on the possibility of the migration of painters from Jodhpur. The frescoes in the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala, according to K.C. Aryan,[55] are jointly the work of Pahari and Jodhpuri painters, the latter, according to him, having settled in the Punjab between c. 1835-1841.[56] Unfortunately, we have no names of any Rajasthani painters who executed murals in the 19th century Punjab.

Besides the Punjab hills and Rajasthan, painters from Delhi and U.P. also came apparently to the

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Punjab. After Maharaja Ranjit Singh's meeting with William Bentinck at Ropar in 1831, Juin (Jivan) Ram, a painter of Meerut[57] who was in the entourage of the Governor-General, proceeded to Lahore.[58] Since he was versatile and could work in a number of styles and techniques,[59] the possibility of his being involved in mural work at Lahore cannot be ruled out. A Delhi painter, Hasan-al-din, reached Lahore by about 1842.[60] We also have evidence for painters from the then United Provinces having embellished edifices in Punjab. The *diwankhana* of Chaudhri Chander Sain at Dadri was painted with murals by a Muslim artist, Vazeer Khan,[61] who according to an inscription,[62] hailed from Farrukhabad, a town located in U.P. Banvari, an architect-cum-painter, came from Kandhla,[63] a village in district Muzzaffarnagar, to work on constructing and then embellishing with murals a temple devoted to Shiva at Patti Kaliana, a village in district Karnal.

Through evidence of this kind, a fair pattern of painters migrating to the Punjab and Haryana from the hills, from Rajasthan and U.P. emerges. But, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot say much more about the artists settled from outside in the Punjab. This unfortunately is equally true of the native painters of Punjab proper. Records are scanty and the trade of 'decorators and mural painters' was almost dead by the end of the 19th century.[64] No descendants following parental occupation from where information can be gathered are traceable. Barring very few artists, our knowledge of native Punjab painters, particularly those who worked exclusively as muralists, therefore, is meagre.

In the census of the Punjab held in 1881, the figures under 'occupation' headings are far from satisfactory;[65] nevertheless, it is not without interest to piece together the picture concerning the painters. The number of male artists in the Punjab Province, as recorded in the census, was 191;[66] 162 of these hailed from the British Territory (including Delhi) and the remaining 29 belonged to the 'Native States'. The numbers of artists living in various Divisions, excluding the eight artists who were less than fiftesn years in age, we get as under :[67]

Delhi	55
Hissar	1
Ambala	2
Jullundur	14
Amritsar	1
Lahore	25
Rawalpindi	13
Multan	1
Derajat	12
Peshawar	30

In the seventeen Native States, artists were recorded to have been living in five states only, as per detail below :[68]

Patiala	18
Kapurthala	6
Jind	2
Mandi	2
Nalagarh	1

It is interesting that two female painters,[69] one from Delhi proper and the other from a village in district Ambala, are recorded in the census report. However, the unreliability of this data is apparent from the fact that in the Division of Amritsar, which apart from the district of Amritsar included in it the districts of Gurdaspur and Sialkot, only one artist was recorded and that too from Sialkot. No one from Amritsar or Gurdaspur where considerable work in painting, including wall-paintings was executed in the 19th century, seems to have been recorded. In Amritsar proper alone there must have been several painters. In *Gali Naqqashan*[70] there is an old alley where traditionally painters used to live:[71] none of them figures in the census report.

In the figures under 'occupation', 'wood-painters' were enumerated separately in the Census report. It was common practice during the Sikh times to decorate with paint the wood work of buildings,[72] including doors, windows and ceilings. This work was exceedingly beautiful.[73] In the *diwankhana* situated within the precincts of Kila Mubarik at Chhachhrauli in district Ambala, thus, a portion of the wooden dado was painted with decorative murals, and is still extant in a fairly good state of preservation. The considerable popularity that this mode of embellishment had gained during the 19th century, is indicated by the total of 731 "wood painters"[74] recorded in

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the census report, as against the 191 artists. The figures continue to raise doubts, though, one wonders if many of those practising the dual jobs of 'wall-painter' and 'wood-painter' were not entered under the head 'wood painters'.

One of the counts on which the classification adopted in 1881 was inadequate is the failure to list separately persons professing more than one occupation, distinct from each other.[75] The situation is no better in the censuses held in 1891,[76] and 1901 and entries pertaining to occupation remain of questionable value.[77] In the census of 1891, mural painters are again not listed separately. A total of 1342 males and 1088 females are listed as practising 'pictorial art and sculpture',[78] out of these 873 were painters and photographers.[79] Evidently, the number of painters enumerated in the 1881 and 1891 censuses is hardly commensurate with the amount of mural work executed during these years of the 19th century. The extant remains of wall-paintings, only a fraction of what must once have been done, indicate that a much larger number of persons were subsisting on a painter's trade.

Among the most prominent families of painters, members of which worked also as muralists was that of Kehar Singh. He worked at Lahore and Kapurthala[80] and was easily one of the most prominent among the court painters of Ranjit Singh.[81] Skilled in several branches of graphic art, he also painted on glass[82] and his series of portraits in gouache represent contemporary life in a vivid manner.[83] He also appears to have been a proficient muralist as well as pietra-dura designer,[84] and was employed to paint frescoes in the Lahore Fort.[85] He is also believed to have worked in the Golden Temple and the Akal Takhat[86] at Amritsar and in Ranjit Singh's mausoleum[87] at Lahore. To his credit goes the creation of a school of *naqqashas*,[88] craftsman who continued to work in many capacities in the Golden Temple.

Kehar Singh had two nephews,[89] Kishan Singh and Bishan Singh, both of whom we learn were fresco painters in the *mohra-kashi* technique.[90] Kishan Singh, who was the court painter of Maharaja Sher Singh,[91] shifted to Kapurthala[92] after the death of the Maharaja. He also participated in the exhibition of arts and crafts held at Lahore in 1864.[93]

As a painter, Bishan Singh appears to have been more gifted than his brother Kishan Singh, and his works displayed in the Lahore exhibition of 1864 were commended as being of great merit.[94] It was in the *mohra-kashi* technique of fresco painting that he excelled, and was consequently engaged for the adornment of the Golden Temple, Amritsar, for a number of years.[95] Floral designs were his forte,[96] and these, interspersed with birds and animals, were executed by him with great skill. His work can still be seen in the second storey of the Golden Temple where his name as 'Bishan Singh Naqqash' appears twice in two separate inscriptions, bearing the dates: V.S. 1945 (=1888 A.D.) and V.S. 1946 (=1889 A.D.). In addition to floral designs he also painted figures of fairies[97] at four places in the temple.

The descendants of Kishan Singh and Bishan Singh continued their ancestral trade. Nihal Singh and Jawahar Singh, sons of Bishan Singh, were, according to Harinder Singh Roop, expert at the allied arts of decoration applied to architecture, including the *mohra-kashi* technique of fresco painting, *gach* and *tukri* work.[98] Their work still survives in the Golden Temple[99] on the southern side above the Har-ki-Pauri.[100]

Kapur Singh, son of Kishan Singh, grew to be an eminent artist[101] in the late 19th century but his work was confined to paper and there is no evidence of his having been employed to paint murals.[102] However, his son, Sardul Singh, did paint murals and his work can be seen on the walls of the temple of Daryanamal in Katra Mohar Singh[103] and in many other Hindu temples in Amritsar.[104] He also did some work on the walls of the Golden Temple,[105] and at one point became the Principal of the Amritsar School of Art, which was situated outside Ghee Mandi.[106]

From amongst the members of the family of *naqqashes* to which Kehar Singh belonged, Mahant Ishar Singh,[107] also a contemporary of the former,[108] adopted the profession of a painter. His father Bhai Ram Singh was also a painter.[109] Most of

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Mahant Ishar Singh's work, said to be of high merit,[110] was on the walls of the main Darshani Deori[111] leading to the Golden Temple, which, unfortunately however, is now covered under the marble slabs[112] fixed over them. He also painted murals in many of the Hindu temples at Amritsar.[113]

We get evidence about another family of painters which engaged itself in architectural decoration in Amritsar from a diary[114] of Hari Singh, a painter adept in architectural and ornamental painting,[115] who died in 1970. At one place in the diary he recorded his painterly lineage in the form of a genealogical tree. In all it records ten names, starting with the prime ancestor, Bidhi Chand, and followed by Jawanda Mal, Sohan Lal, Bawa Singh, Sada Singh, Deva Singh, Lal Singh, Bishan Singh, Ganda Singh and Hari Singh. Since the diary imparts no other relevant information, we get to know nothing about the work of these painters and the edifices they decorated with murals.

Atma Singh, who worked for some years recently on renovating the floral designs in the Golden Temple[116] and the murals in the shrine of Baba Atal, belongs to a family of painters. His father Mehtab Singh, born in 1871,[117] is said to have been an adept muralist and painted murals in the *Thakurdwara* of Fakir Chand[118] and in Baba Atal[119] at Amritsar, in the Darbar Sahib at Tarn Taran,[120] in the Gurudwara at Baba Bakala,[121] and in many a Hindu temples.[122] Atma Singh's grandfather, Bhai Jawala Singh, was a muralist of talent and his skill in this trade is evidenced from his work surviving in Akhara Bala Nand[123] at Amritsar.

Some other mural painters from Amritsar are also known. Thus, one Jai Singh worked in the Golden Temple.[124] Jaimal Singh, born in 1860, was a painter-cum-muralist,[125] and was among those employed to adorn the walls of Baba Atal with paintings.[126] Hukam Singh[127] was yet another painter who worked with Jaimal Singh and Mehtab Singh in executing murals in Baba Atal. Rudh Singh, Amir Singh, Ganesh Singh, Gian Singh, Kapur Singh, Puran Singh and Aroor Singh are other names of Naqqashas who lived in Gali Naqqashan[128] or the 'painters alley', in Amritsar. They were all adept at floral decoration.

Very little is known about the native wall-painters of Lahore,[129] which, after Amritsar, constituted the next major centre of mural painting in 19th century Punjab. In the present state of our knowledge, we only know of Suraj Ram as a mural painter of Lahore, and that too from an inscription[130] on the *baradari* at the head of the tank in the Vaishnava monastery at Pindori Mahantan, near Gurdaspur, where he had come to execute murals.

Our knowledge of painters having painted murals at other places is even scantier. The murals in the temple of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali were painted by Sharf Din, a Muslim painter popularly known as Sharfu, who belonged to Urmar,[131] a village in district Hoshiarpur. He might be the same person who worked at Batala when he witnessed a deed as "Sharfu,[132] son of Ilyasa, the mason", and added to his signatures a floral design to indicate his craft.

Another Muslim painter, Nazar Mohammad,[133] it is interesting to note, was employed to paint murals exclusively on Jain themes, in the Jain Svetambera temple at Zira. His antecedents, however, are not known to us.

In a Shiva temple, known as 'Nanuka mandir' at Bhador in district Sangrur, murals were painted by Shera and Nikal,[134] both of whom were Mohammedan mason-cum-painters. Shera belonged to Barbar, a village near Barnala and Nikal belonged to Barnala proper.[135] Hara Singh and Hardit Singh, mason-cum-painters of Katu, a village near Dhanola Mandi in district Sangrur, erected the temple of Shri Kalu Nath at Nathana, district Bhatinda, and painted murals in it.[136] Mian Jiwan Khan, an architect-cum-painter, executed murals in the Faridkot Fort.[137] According to an inscription still standing on a wall of the *samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda in district Hoshiarpur, Nihal Singh, a *raj-mistri*, had been engaged in the construction of the *samadh* and in all probability it was he who also painted the murals embellishing its walls.

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Many more painters from 19th century Punjab are known, but in the absence of definite information about their having worked as muralists or not, it may not serve much purpose to include their names in this study. What is of interest is a brief consideration of the patrons for whom muralists worked.

Since most of our notices of mural work in Punjab and Haryana come from European writers, men who stayed in Punjab and Haryana or passed through it, it might be appropriate to begin with treating of them first as the patrons of mural painting. Here, however, one is in a somewhat peculiar position, for most of these persons themselves had, for all their interest in documenting the work, very little real regard for the quality or kind of work which the painters of Punjab and Haryana did. In fact their opinion of art in these parts was rather low, and their tone distinctly superior, as noticed before. Baden-Powell's solemn pronouncement is somewhat typical of this attitude : "In scarcely any part of India are the fine arts in so low a condition as in the Punjab."[138] The jury of the 1864 Exhibition which gave this view did, however, concede some basic talent to the Punjab artist :[139]

> The native of the Punjab possesses many of the qualities which ensure success in art. In common with the inhabitants of lower India he has an instinctive appreciation of colour, and though without any knowledge of the principles which should regulate its use, is often more happy in his combinations than the educated workman of Europe. His colour is often exaggerated but it is always warm, and rich and fearless. The native artist is also patient : for weeks and months he will work at his design, painfully elaborating the most minute details; no time is considered too long, no labour too intense to secure perfection in imitation or delicacy in execution. The greatest failing in native artists is their ignorance of perspective and drawing, and it is fortunate that this want is the most easy to supply. Nothing is required but schools of design and judicious instruction to effect a great change both in the fine arts themselves, and in art manufactures in the Punjab.

"This passage", as W.G. Archer,[140] remarks : "cogently express what good Victorians seriously thought" even if we may "deplore its naive assumption of British superiority, its childish aesthetics, its over-simple standards."

And yet it is true that a decided quantity of work by way of mural painting in the Punjab was done for European patrons who lived at the Sikh Court. There were many European artists who came to the Punjab, many of these highly competent in art even if they were not professionals, but their services were not of course available to other Europeans who wanted their houses decorated. Not any of them was a muralist, and hardly anyone worked for professional fees. Those who wanted their houses or *havelis* decorated, therefore, had to fall back upon Indian artists and hope then they had 'imbibed' from European examples some of the features like perspective and modelling which they found so wanting in Indian work and so admired in European art. The attitude of the patrons who commissioned Indian painters was generally superior, and yet they did engage them. Notes written on some drawings made for Augustus Honner by Kapur Singh of Amritsar,[141] are typical of the European sense of indulgent amusement towards the work of Indian artists. But work continued to be entrusted to them.[142] Many of the European officers in the Sikh army, men like Ventura,[143] Allard and Avitabile,[144] got their residences painted with murals by native painters as we have noticed before. It is quite likely that they made specific demands on their talent, and the painter in turn must have tried to minister to the European taste of the patron by trying to incorporate exotic elements [145] into his work. It is in this context that we get those large 'realistic' battle scenes on walls to which we get references, or come upon themes like the portrait of Napoleon.[146]

Real patronage to the art of mural painting, however, came from the members of the Sikh royalty. Maharaja Ranjit Singh "despite his philistine

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46. Guru Gobind Singh on horseback accompanied by attendants. A drawing based on a wall-painting of the Golden Temple, Amritsar.

upbringing", was apparently a generous patron of the arts. Most of the frescoes and related architectural decorations in the Golden Temple at Amritsar were the result of his commissions to painters and craftsmen, many of them having been brought from Chiniot, near Lyallpur, and lodged in *haveli* Chaniotian,[147] near the Lahori Gate in Amritsar. Harinder Singh Roop describes at length[148] the personal interest the Maharaja had taken in getting a wall-painting representing Guru Gobind Singh, painted in the Golden Temple. The painting is still extant, it has lately been renovated without the original composition being changed, however.

In addition to work in the Golden Temple, a large number of shrines either got constructed by the Maharaja himself or supported by him, were embellished with murals. *Gurudwara* Angitha Sahib[149] at Khadur Sahib in district Amritsar, *gurudwara* Tham Sahib[150] at Kartarpur in district Jullundur and *Shivala* Ek Onkar[151] located close to Nighdu, in Karnal, were all raised at the expense of the Maharaja and were embellished with wall-paintings. *Gurudwara* Baba Bir Singh[152] at Naurangabad and the temple known as Shri Palkiana Sahib[153] at Jaura, both located in district Amritsar; *gurudwara* Darbar Sahib[154] at Dera Baba Nanak and Raghunath Temple[155] within the precincts of the famous Vaishnava monastery at Pindori, both located in district Gurdaspur, must again have gained from the financial help given by the Maharaja : all these shrines were embellished with wall-paintings.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's interest in art has sometimes been ignored. During his reign several buildings in the Lahore Fort were embellished with murals[156] and one of these represented the Maharaja supplicating before Guru Nanak.[157] At Amritsar, the Maharaja had a house built and beautifully painted for housing certain visiting dignitaries.[158] He also got his palace at Wazirabad painted with murals illustrative of the religion of the Sikhs.[159]

On this was an extension of the Maharaja's keen interest in miniature paintings, perhaps, especially portraits. He had a number of artists in his employ, of whom the most prominent were Muhammad Bakhsh, Kehar Singh and Purkhu.[160] Their chief duty

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seems to have been to portray visiting dignitaries. The custom of taking sketches of visitors to the court by the painter attached to the court[161] became a tradition, many of these paintings were hung later in the Govt. record office at Lahore, before 1863.[162] Under the orders of the Maharaja his deputies took one artist and an album of pictures to Captain C.M. Wade[163] at Adinanagar in 1831. Evidently the purpose of sending the artist was to have the visiting Englishman portrayed. During his meeting with the Governor-General at Ropar in October 1831, state painters formed a part of the Maharaja's retinue.[164] In the Lahore Palace, the mural depicting the meeting of the Maharaja with Lord William Bentinck at Ropar[165] was, in all probability, based on sketches taken earlier by the state artists. Emily Eden, the sister of Lord Auckland, who accompanied the British Governor-General to Punjab in 1838, noted Ranjit Singh's artists sketching her brother.[166] G.T. Vigne was another visitor who had the honour of having been sketched by the court artist.[167] A painter was sent by Ranjit Singh, again, to copy a piece of the uniform of Baron Hugel,[168] an Austrian. He also sent his favourite horse Leily to be drawn by Vigne.[169] It has even been suggested that painters accompanied the Maharaja on his hunting expeditions.[170]

Ranjit Singh might have allowed his own person to be portrayed only sparingly,[171] but he seemingly did not dislike painters. A Hindustani painter named Jivan Ram, who accompanied the Governor-General at Ropar, was allowed to draw the Maharaja's portrait.[172] A picture of the Queen of England, sent to Ranjit Singh for inspection by the Governor-General at Ferozepur, greatly pleased him.[173] Two howitzers presented by Lord Auckland to the Maharaja gave him much satisfaction, specially because his profile was engraved on them.[174] His own picture, set in diamonds, presented to Auckland,[175] evince his interest in the art of painting. With time, his understanding and appreciation of the pictorial arts apparently grew and we find him making subtle observations on paintings,[176] sometimes.

It is interesting that for the education of his sons, Ranjit Singh got the vernacular alphabet illustrated by the court artists,[177] very much on the pattern of modern books for children.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh, it appears, was also liberal in the matter of remunerations and rewards to painters. Jivan Ram, for instance, was given a sum of rupees one hundred for the portrait he drew of the Maharaja at Ropar in 1831.[178] We now know also of a land grant issued with the Maharaja's personal seal in 1825 A.D. to Nikku,[179] a Pahari painter. According to this, land worth Rs. 125 per annum was granted to the painter, free of the imposition of *kar* and *begar* etc.[180]

All this is accurately indicative of Ranjit Singh's patronage of the art of painting. This must have naturally extended to patronage of wall-painting, for it was much in vogue in his times. It is difficult otherwise to conceive of him being portrayed without his approval in the wall-paintings of the Lahore Fort, either in the act of supplicating before Guru Nanak[181] or meeting with the Governor-General[182] at Ropar.

After the Maharaja's death, whatever might have happened politically or militarily, art continued to receive patronage at the Court. Kharak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh fell quick preys to the anarchy that ensued, but at an earlier point of time Nau Nihal Singh seems to have had some taste for painting. His patronage is evident from his *haveli* which was embellished with frescoes.[183] But out of the successors of the great Maharaja, it is Sher Singh who emerges to be a serious patron of painting. In fact his interest and appreciation of painting might have aroused in the early years of his life; in 1830, at the age of only 23, he was made the Governor of Kangra where he is likely to have seen the refined work of the Pahari painters. Later, he had several opportunities, not only of seeing European visitors[184] to the Sikh court making sketches and drawings, but was also, as a striking figure, sketched by them several times.[185] We know from Emily Eden's sister, Fanny, that in 1838 Sher Singh was already 'fond of drawing'.[186] Late in 1840 or early 1841, the Austrian painter Schoefft reached Lahore and not only impressed Sher Singh[187] with his work

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but got commissions to paint large canvases in oils.[188] A document evidencing grant of a *jagir* by Maharaja Sher Singh to painter Gokal has also come to light.[189] In 1843, we find the court painter of Sher Singh "incessantly occupied" in sketching those present at the court.[190] All these references speak of his keen interest in painting as well as of the patronage he extended to it. There is no direct evidence of his having commissioned painters to execute murals; all the same it is very likely that he did.

Although Dalip Singh, the last of the line, was more interested in painting[191] than anyone else in his family, and was able to paint when still a child,[192] he was exiled before he came of his age and the Punjab was deprived of a serious patron of art.[193] Even in his brief tenure he managed to have the *samadh* of Maharaja Sher Singh, located at Kot Khwaja Saeed in Lahore, embellished with murals.[194]

Besides the royal house of Lahore, the rulers of cis-Sutlej states also patronized painting and Patiala, the foremost among the Phulkian group of states, was in fact greatly concerned with the patronage of the arts.[195] We have a number of references that speak of considerable art activity at Patiala. Dr. Hiranand Shastri referred to a 'Hamir Hath' set of paintings painted at Patiala, similar to the one painted by Sajnu at Mandi.[196] A family of Rajasthani painters was apparently brought to Patiala by Maharaja Karm Singh (A.D. 1814—1845) from Jaipur[197] and some paintings belonging to his period are in the collection of Sodhi Harbhajan Singh of Anandpur.[198] Baden-Powell speaks[199] of the 'State Artist' of Patiala whose work was "most excellent".[200] Devi Ditta of the branch of the famous Guler family of artists was serving Maharaja Mahendra Singh (A D. 1862—1876) of Patiala.[201] Biba of Guler was another painter who served under the Rajas of Patiala.[202] As a result, a number of edifices at Patiala and its vicinity were embellished with wall-paintings under the direct patronage of the State Chiefs. The temple of Shiv Puri at Patiala was built by Maharaja Karm Singh[203] and was adorned with murals. Frescoes in the Diwankhana Kadim in Kila Mubarak were executed during the time of Maharaja Narendra Singh (1846—1862) and the *Shish Mahal* was embellished with wall-paintings either during his own reign or that of his son, Maharaja Mahendra Singh.

Among the other Phulkian states, Nabha, Faridkot and Jind also patronized the art of wall-painting. The *samadh* of Raja Jaswant Singh[204] of Nabha and Rani Mahal,[205] within the precincts of Nabha Fort, were decorated with murals, evidently under the orders of the ruling Chief. *Gurudwara* Lohgarh at Dina Kangar was built by Raja Wazir Singh[206] of Faridkot and murals were painted in it. Frescoes in the *Shish Mahal* in Faridkot Fort were painted at the behest of Raja Bikram Singh.[207] The *samadh* of Rani Jind[208] at Bahadurgarh, a suburb of Hoshiarpur, and the *samadh* of Bhai Guddar Singh and Mai Rajji[209] at Dyalpura in district Bhatinda were raised by the Jind State with murals painted on their walls. The house of the Kalsia family, with their capital at Chhachhrauli in district Ambala, also had some buildings adorned with murals.[210] The wall-paintings in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra were completed at the expense of Raja Gopal Singh of Manimajra.

Evidence of the 'trans-Sutlej' state of Kapurthala having patronized the art of wall-painting is also available. Thus, Jalao Khana, a state edifice at Kapurthala, had its front embellished with frescoes. Murals still survive in the *samadh* of the daughter of Mai Hiran, a Rani of Kapurthala.[211]

There are instances when patronage to painting was also extended by royal ladies. A temple at Fategarh Churian in district Gurdaspur known as Mandir Maharani Chand Kaur[212] was got built by the wife of Maharaja Kharak Singh. She also contributed to the construction of *Gurudwara* Darbar Sahib[213] at Dera Baba Nanak, a shrine originally embellished with murals. At Pehowa in district Kurukshetra a *haveli* with mural work was got built by Rani Chand Kaur of Nabha.

The royal houses apart, it was also to the new Sikh aristocracy to which artists looked up for patronage. The members of this aristocracy did not inherit any artistic tradition, but their interest in

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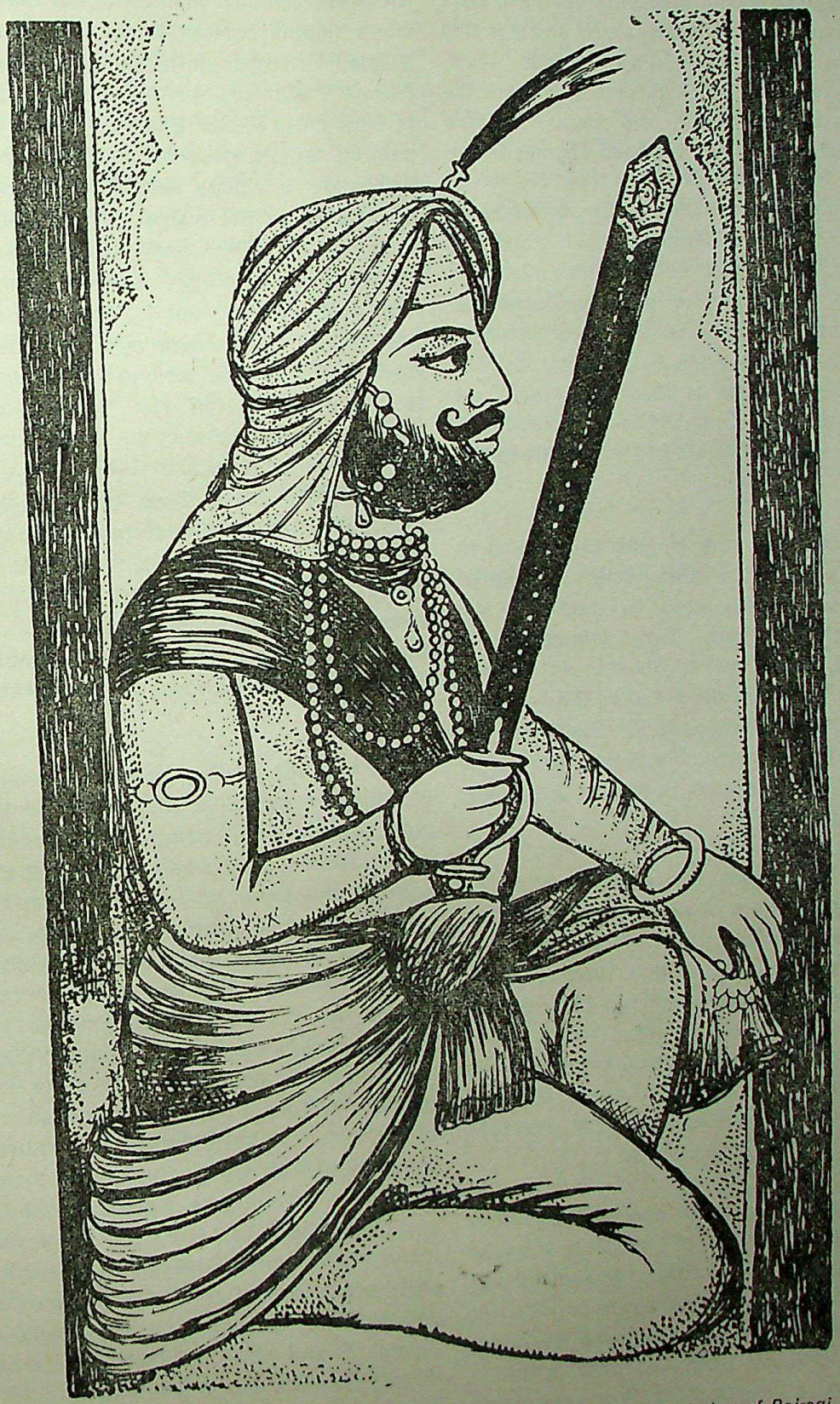

47. Portrait of Maharaja Sher Singh. A drawing based on a wall-painting of Bairagi **Thakurdwara** *at Ram Tatwali, district Hoshiarpur.*

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themselves and in surrounding themselves with style appears to have been considerable,[214] and it is this that led them to commissioning murals. Thus, General Hari Singh Nalwa got his villa at Gujranwala embellished with frescoes[215]; the Bedis of Una employed artists to paint religious themes in the *gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari;[216] the *sardars* of Attari had the walls of their fort at Attari ornamented with paintings;[217] and the Sandhanwalia *sardars* had their *haveli* at Raja Sansi adorned with murals.[218] The patronage extended by the Sandhanwalias seems to have been of serious proportions. Striking proof of this has been adduced recently by Dr. Goswamy in his *Painters at the Sikh Court*;[219] we now know of Gokal and Chhajju, the Guler painters, who were in the employment of the Sandhanwalia *sardars*.[220]

The patronage of painting by Sikh Chiefs can in fact be traced back to the 18th century. Some of the misaldars were interested in getting walls embellished with paintings. Thus, murals in the temple of Shri Nam Dev at Ghoman in district Gurdaspur were probably done under the orders of Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia.[221] Similarly the *samadh* of Tara Singh Gheba, decorated with wall-paintings, was raised at Rahon, in district Jullundur, by his son Jhanda Singh.[222]

But perhaps the most interesting feature of painting is its patronage by people with less than royal or noble means. As the 19th century progressed, and artists in high employ were released, their talents appear to have been used by several persons considerably lower in the social rank. Whatever the reasons for this — genuine interest, the use of art as social status, a view of mural painting as an inevitable part of architecture — the development is certainly of absorbing interest.

We get several monuments and buildings from this period. Thus, the *samadh* of Lal Singh, a *sardar* of Kale Ghanupur, near Amritsar, was raised and embellished with wall-paintings by his son Gulzar Singh.[223] The temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari, with very attractive mural work was raised at Batala by Kishan Chand, a member of the prosperous Bhandari family of the town.[224] Bhawani Singh Bhandari, another member of the family, had to his credit murals painted in the Shiv Temple at Achal Batala.[225] Another shrine known as *Bhola Bhandari Mandir*[226] with wall-paintings still extant, was built at Batala also by the Bhandari family. A beautifully painted temple devoted to Radha and Krishna at Kishankot, a village near Sri Hargobindpur, was built by 'Raja' Sahib Dyal who was the Chief of the Customs of Jullundur[227] during the regni of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Sudagar Mal, a *dewan* of Kapurthala State, got constructed a temple at Shekhupur,[228] a village on Kapurthala-Sultanpur road, and this was adorned with paintings. The temple of Baba Hari Har, bearing murals, was erected at Nur Mahal at the expense of Lala Basant Rai Khosla who was a Tehsildar in the state of Kapurthale.[229] Misar Bhup Chand of Nur Mahal, a man of influence and status, got raised a temple with murals, located near Chashma Faiz in the town.[230] The house of the Chaudhari Chander Sain, a revenue official of Dadri which formed a part of the Muslim state of Jhajjar, was embellished with murals. Today it is known as *Diwankhana Chander Sain Ka*.[231]

Besides this group of patrons, it was the *mahants* of religious establishments who continued to be great patrons of wall-paintings. The *akharas* of Udasi saints almost always had the walls of their edifices painted and some of the best surviving murals[232] are to be seen in them. These establishments were scattered all over the Punjab and Haryana, but the town of Amritsar is where their concentration was. Almost all the *akharas* at Amritsar, including the *akharas* Bala Nand, Prag Das, Sangal Wala and Kashi Wala had murals painted in them in the 19th century. Although our knowledge about the names of *mahants* who got the murals executed is meagre, the work was evidently done under their patronage. Murals in *akhara* Bala Nand, *akhara* Sangal Wala and *akhara* Beri Wala were painted respectively, for *mahant* Bhishambar Prashad,[233] *mahant* Pritam Das[234] and *mahant* Sewa Das.[235] Murals in *dera* Udasian at Jamsher[236] in district Jullundur, *akhara* Udasian at Jandali[237] and *dera* Balram[238] at Barnala, both in district Sangrur, and the Nirankari *dera*[239] at Patiala, were painted under the patronage of the *mahants* of establishments.

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The *mahants*, of a number of religious establishments, other than the *akharas*, had also taken keen interest in the embellishment of their edifices. The temple of Kalu Nath at Nathana[240] was built and painted under the patronage of *mahant* Ram Das. The *gurudwara* at Chola Sahib[241] was raised and embellished under the patronage of *mahant* Sadhu Ram. We have also much better known Vaishnava monasteries of Pandori[242] and Dhamtal,[243] where extensive mural work was carried out for the *mahants*. We have earlier noted at some length work at the *dera* of Baba Lal[244] at Dhianpur and the temple of the Bairagis[245] at Ram Tatwali.

At another level, traders, bankers and money-lenders also extended in their own way patronage to mural painters. The *havelis* and temples built by them were usually embellished with wall-paintings. The *haveli* of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda[246] and the *haveli* of Badhwaran,[247] both located in Ferozepur city, were painted with murals. Daryana Mal, a trader of Amritsar, raised a temple, known as *Daryana Mal da Thakurdwara*[248] with paintings executed on its walls. Lala Churh Mal, son of Lala Bhawani Das, raised a *thakurdwara*[249] with frescoes at Nakodar. The *mari* of Baba Sidh at Mari, in district Faridkot, was erected by a Lahore banker[250] and bears late 18th century murals. A temple with murals at Jagadhari, known as *Mandir Raji Wala* was built by Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das.[251]

Apparently, with all this activity, painting had moved out of the charmed circle of the royalty and the nobility, and had come closer to the people. It is another matter that this is also the period of time when the vitality of the tradition to which it belonged had become remarkably low.

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112. *Ibid.*
113. K.C. Aryan, *Punjab Painting*, p. 112; Kanwarjit Kang, "Survival of Wall Paintings in Amritsar", *Marg*, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 56.
114. The diary is now in the possession of Sardar Studio, Amritsar. Also see Kanwarjit Kang, "Survival of Wall Paintings in Amritsar", *Marg*, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 56.
115. K.C. Aryan, *Punjab Painting*, p. 112.
116. Bhan Singh, *loc. cit.*, pp. 45-46.
117. This information was received from S. Atma Singh, interviewed at Amritsar.
118. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Survival of Wall Paintings in Amritsar", *Marg*, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 56.
119. *Ibid.*
120. This information I owe to S. Atma Singh.
121. K.C. Aryan, *Punjab Painting*, p. 109.
122. *Ibid.*
123. Informed by Atma Singh of Amritsar. Also see Kanwarjit Kang, "Survival of Wall Paintings in Amritsar", *Marg*, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 56.
124. Harinder Singh Roop, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
125. K.C. Aryan, *Punjab Painting*, p. 108.
126. Informed by Atma Singh.
127. *Ibid.*
128. K.C. Aryan, "Some Punjabi Artists", *Roopa-Lekha*, XXXIX, No. 1, p. 34; K.C. Aryan, *Punjab Painting*, p. 21.
129. Much information could have been collected had I been allowed to visit Lahore by the Govt. of Pakistan.
130. B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, *The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, p. 20.
131. This information, I was able to collect from Sh. G.L. Sharma, Head of the Dept. of Fine Art, Govt. College, Hoshiarpur. Charndas, the present *mahant* of the temple is an usurper and the village *panchyat* is fighting a case against him through Thakur Dhani Ram, an advocate of Hoshiarpur. Sh. C.L. Sharma, whose forefathers had a say in the affairs of the temple, is helping the advocate with information preserved in his family.
132. J.S. Grewal, *In the by-lane of History* (typed script), p. 124.
133. Shri Satya Pal Jain gave this information in an interview I had with him at Zira.
134. The names are written in Persian character on one of the walls of the temple, adjacent to a painting.
135. This information was given by Shri Raghubir Singh, interviewed at Bhador.
136. Bal Mukand Das, *Janm Sakhi Kalu Nath* (P), pp. 129-30.
137. This intormation was given by Shri Gaura Singh, interviewed at Faridkot.
138. Baden-Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
140. *Paintings of the Sikhs*, p. 61.

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141. Mildred Archer, *Company Drawings in the India Office Library*, p. 210.
142. Europeans got these drawings made mostly for publication in their books. See J.M. Honigberger, *op. cit.*, p. 195. The coloured plates in the second volume of Sir Herbert Edwardes, *A year on the Punjab Frontier in 1858-49*, were the works of native artists; *see* its p. xii (of preface).
143. See Lt. Barr, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.
144. See J.J. Cotton, "General Avitabile", *Calcutta Review*, CCXLVI, Oct. 1906, pp. 544-46.
145. The inclusion of exotic elements by native painters did puzzle some observers. Lt. Barr's description of the 'painted chamber' in the residence of General Allard and Ventura betray this fact. See *Journal*, pp. 79-80.
146. J.J. Cotton, *loc. cit.*, p. 576.
147. K.C. Aryan, *Punjab Painting*, p. 17.
148. *Sikh Te Sikhi* (P), p. 59.
149. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies*, pp. 4-5.
150. *Jullundur D.G. 1904*, p. 290.
151. H.A. Rose (ed.), *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, I, p. 284.
152. See Chapter II of "Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings", district Amritsar.
153. *Ibid.*
154. *Census of India, Punjab - Fairs and Festivals*, XIII, Part VII-B, p. 60.
155. *Gurdaspur D.G. 1883-84*, p. 98.
156. See J. Ph. Vogel, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", *Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, I, No. 1, 1911, pp. 52-53. According to the information I have been furnished with by the Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, vide its letter No. 22/23/68-Arch., dated Nov. 9, 1968, frescoes were still extant in the Lahore Fort.
157. See Lt. Barr, *Journal*, pp. 101-102.
158. See Emily Eden, *Up the Country*, II, p. 9.
159. Baron Charles Hugel, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
160. Fakir Syed Waheed-ud-din, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
161. See Leopold Von Orlich, *op. cit.*, I, p. 206.
162. See Roshan Lal Ahuja, *Vidya Pati Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (P), p. 31.
163. Sohan Lal Suri, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
165. Lt. Barrr, *Journal*, p. 100.
166. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 288.
167. Baron Charles Hugel, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
168. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
169. G.T. Vigne, *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzani, Kabul and Afganistan*, p. 265.
170. See Roshan Lal Ahuja, *The Story of Ranjit Singh*, p. 72.
171. See Emily Eden, *op. cit.*, II, p. 23; Baron Charles Hugel, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-53.
172. A print of a portrait drawn by Jivan Ram appeared on the reverse side of the page bearing contents in the book : Narendra Krishna Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*.
173. Sohan Lal Suri, *op. cit.*, p. 567.
174. See D.R. Sood, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 68.
175. Emily Eden, *op. cit.*, II, p. 32.
176. See Sohan Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 469.
177. See Roshan Lal Ahuja, *Vidya Pati Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (P), p. 23.
178. Sohan Lal Suri, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
179. See B.N. Goswamy, *Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents*, p. 32.
180. *Ibid.*
181. Lt. Barr, *Journal*, pp. 101-102.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
183. As per information of the Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, 19th century murals are still extant in this *haveli*.
184. For instance W.G. Osborne and Emily Eden.
185. See lithographs in W.G. Osborne, *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh*. Sher Singh sat for picture before Emily Eden, *Up the Country*, p. 223, and the drawing later published in her book *Portraits of the Princes and People of India*.
186. Fanny Eden. *Journal*, 8 Dec., 1836. India Office Library, MSS, Eur. C. 130, quoted in W.G. Archer, *Paintings of the Sikhs*, p. 42.
187. J.M. Honigberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-175.
188. See F.A. Khan, *The Princess Bamba Collection*.
189. See B.N. Goswamy, *Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents*, pp. 11 and 34.
190. Capt. Leopold Von Orlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.
191. See Helen Mackenzie, *Life in the Mission, the Camp and the Zenana* : or *Six Years in India*, III, pp. 47-55; also see Lady Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, pp. 155-156.
192. See J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
193. See Lady Login, *op. cit.*, which refers to Dalip Singh's unabatad interest in painting, pp. 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 209, 336, 467.
194. As per information of the Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, 19th century murals are still extant in this *samadh*.
195. See Karuna Goswamy, *loc. cit.*, p. 121.

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196. "Hamir Hath", *J.I.A.*, XVII, No. 132, Oct. 1915, p. 36.
197. Karuna Goswamy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 125-126.
198. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
199. *Op. cit.*, p. 352.
200. *Ibid.*
201. B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Paintings: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronge', *Oriental Art* (New Series), XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 47.
202. Karuna Goswamy, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.
203. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings' district Patiala.
204. *Ibid.*
205. *Ibid.*
206. *Ibid.*, district Faridkot.
207. I was told this by ex-Maharaja Harinder Singh of Faridkot in an interview that I had with him.
208. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings', district Hoshiarpur.
209. Kapur Singh Ghuman (ed.), *Dina Kangar Survey Pustak* (P), p. 44.
210. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings', district Ambala.
211. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall Paintings', district Hoshiarpur.
212. *Ibid.*, district Gurdaspur.
213. *Gurdaspur D.G. 1883-84,* p. 98.
214. See B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", *Oriental Art* (New Series), XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 46.
215. Lt. Barr, *Journal,* p. 137.
216. See Chapter II of 'Extant Ramains of Wall-Paintings', district Hoshiarpur.
217. Traces of paintings are still to be seen on a portion of a wall of the fort at Attari.
218. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings', district Amritsar.
219. See pp. 11, 32-35.
220. *Ibid.*, p. 34, No. 8.
221. Kahn Singh Nabha, *Encyclopaedia of the Sikhs,* p. 522.
222. *Punjab Notes and Queries,* II, No. 15, Dec., 1884, p. 49.
223. It is evident from an inscription surviving on one of the walls of the *samadh*.
224. The Bhandari family of Batala was one of the eminent families of the Sikh Raj. See *Gurdaspur D.G. 1883-84,* pp. 40-41.
225. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings', district Gurdaspur.
226. *Ibid.*
227. *Gurdaspur D.G. 1883-84,* p. 37.
228. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings', district Kapurthala.
229. *Ibid.*, district Jullundur.
230. *Ibid.*, district Jullundur.
231. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings', district Bhiwani.
232. See murals of *akhara* reproduced in the book.
233. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains', of Wall-Paintings', district Amritsar, *Akhara* Bala Nand, *Akhara* Sangal Wala, *Akhara* Beri Wala.
234. *Ibid.*
235. *Ibid.*
236. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings', district Jullundur.
237. *Ibid.*, district Sangrur.
238. *Ibid.*
239. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings', district Patiala.
240. *Ibid.*, district Bhatinda.
241. *Ibid.*, district Amritsar.
242. *Ibid.*, district Gurdaspur.
243. *Ibid.*
244. *Ibid.*
245. *Ibid.*, district Hoshiarpur.
246. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings' district Ferozepur.
247. *Ibid.*
248. *Ibid.*, district Amritsar.
249. *Ibid.*, district Jullundur.
250. *Ibid.*, district Faridkot.
251. *Ibid.*, disrrict Ambala.

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Appendix A

Eye-Witness Accounts of Wall-Paintings

1. Vigne, G.T., *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan* (London, 1840).

G.T. Vigne stayed with Ventura, the European general of Ranjit Sigh's court, at Anarkali, in Lahore; in 1835. He observes :

'...the residence of General Ventura; and the drawing rooms of our kind host, of which the ceilings and wainscots were entirely covered with paintings, and glass mirrors in gilt frames...were no unsuitable theatre for the performance of Ranjit's dancing girls.... (p. 257)

2. Vigne, G.T., *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo &c.* (London, 1842), 2 Vols.

Describe mural paintings at Wazirabad :

'On the northern side of "the town of Wazirabad" is a garden and three houses; two belonging to the late Maharaja, and the other to the minister, Rajah Dhian Singh. They are very neat buildings, partly Saracenic, and the rest *ad libitum;* generally rectangular in shape, and surmounted with a terrace. From one of them there rises a square tower, fifty or sixty feet in height. The greater part is painted with Hindu mythological devices, intermixed with horses and other animals, and wreaths and bouquets of flowers, on a white ground.' (I, pp. 236-37)

3. Masson, Charles, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Beluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab* (London, 1842), 3 Vols.

Masson travelled in the Punjab from 1826 to 1836 and describes Avitabile's house at Lahore with murals :

'To the east of the city are the cantonments of the troops, commanded by M. Avitabile and Court, with the residences of these officers. The mansion of the former, a Neapolitan, is painted in a singular and grotesque fashion.' (I, p. 414)

4. Allen, Rev. I.N., *Diary of a March through Sind and Afghanistan* (London, 1843).

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Rev. I.N. Allen, Assistant Chaplain on the East India Company's Bombay Establishment, breakfasted with General Avitabile at Peshawar one morning in 1842. He observes :

'The breakfast was excellent, and laid in a noble dining-room with columns, in length about one hundred and twenty feet and handsomely decorated in native style. I was surprised to find, among the portraits and pictures in the drawing-room, a very good print of Lord Eldon.' (p. 361)

5. Barr, Lt. William, *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawur and from thence to Cabul, including travels in the Punjab* (London, 1844).

Lt. Barr of the Bengal Horse Artillery accompanied Col. C.M. Wade on his mission to Afghanistan, January to December 1839 and gives a most detailed account of murals on several buildings in Punjab :

I. The bazar at Ambala

'The bazar is some miles in extent, and composed of two streets at right angles with one another, most of the houses in it being of late construction, and their uniformity, except where a few of the richer baboos have increased their residences to the height of two stories, is considerable for a native town. These latter are plastered with finest chunam, and decorated with paintings of various devices, in much better taste than is usually displayed on such occasions....' (p. 28)

II. The royal palace, Lahore

'The gateway, which consists of a tolerably lofty archway with a tower at each side, is covered from its summit to its base with paintings, the greater number taken from the history of Crishna as related in the Prem Sagur, though a few describe the habits and peculiarities of a wandering fakeer. The figures are almost all about one-third the size of life, but with proportions as ludicrous and absurd as they can well be. In some the eye occupies nearly the whole side of a face, and in others the head appears as massive as the body. Here fakeers may be seen with their hands clasped above their heads, and with finger-nails two or three inches long ; there are others standing on one foot, their bodies besmeared with ashes, and their long lank hair streaming over their shoulders in the most offensive state of filth. Crishna's exploits occasionally partake of the ludicrous and disgusting. In one compartment he is portrayed with a milkmaid shampooing his great toe; in another, he is perched up in a tree, from the branches of which depend various articles of dress he has stolen from some fair damsels who are refreshing themselves in a limpid stream below, and whose head and hands, clasped in a supplicatory manner, appear above water beseeching him to return their apparel, but to no purpose, as he is dashing out the brains of a man with his club; and in a fourth, tearing out the entrails of a prostrate foe with the most brutal ferocity. Having satisfied our curiosity at these wonderful embellishments, we passed beneath the archway and came to the inner gate of the palace; but here we are stopped by a sentry, who forbade our further progress. We remarked, however, that it is enriched with paintings of a similar character to those on the first, and though no doubt considered in good taste by the Punjabees, to Englishmen they have a most ridiculous appearance.' (pp. 69-71)

III. Allard's house, Anarkali (a suburb of Lahore)

'Anarcolly, which is in the centre of the Lahore cantonments, was the joint property and built by the Generals Allard and Ventura. On their first entering the Maharajah's service they lived together in a large adjoining mosque or tomb, where the family of the latter, with about forty or fifty female slaves, have resided without once moving out of doors since the General took his departure for France, now two years ago. He is, however, daily expected here, as he arrived some months ago at Bombay, and the intelligence of his friend's death will no doubt hasten his movements. In the room where we dined there was a portrait of General Allard, which bespeaks him to have been a handsome and benevolent man, possessing much firmness and decision of character, tempered with mildness. He wore, at the time it was taken, a uniform similar to that of our horse-artillery, and was decorated with two orders, one, the "Legion of

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Honour", the other the "Bright Star of the Punjab", lately instituted by Runjeet Singh. Another picture of the General and his family, taken by a French artist when he returned home some three or four years ago, was pointed out to us, and though not finished, being merely the design from which a large drawing was made, the group is well arranged, and the pretty faces of his Cashmerian wife and his children, who were dressed in the custom of their mother's country, drew forth the admiration of us all. Adjoining the dining-room is another of some dimensions, lined from top to bottom with looking-glass, and which, when illuminated, must have a brilliant effect, as it looked extremely pretty and dazzling even with the two candles that were brought in with us. With the exception of wanting the bath and fountains, it reminded me much of the "Sheeshah Khanuh" in the palace at Agra. We were subsequently shown into what may in truth be termed "the Painted Chamber", as it is adorned with pictures of battles in which the two Generals were engaged, and executed on the chunam walls by native artists. The perspective of these scenes is most ridiculous; and at the siege of Moultan the cannons are turned up on end to enable the gunners to load them, the figures overtop the fortification, and the cavalry seem to be manoeuvering in the air; and absurdities of a similar nature are perpetrated throughout them all, and no doubt afford much amusement to their gallant owners, whose policy has led them this far to assimilate their dwellings with those of the native population; for it can hardly be supposed their taste is so far vitiated as to regard these embellishments as ornamental.' (pp. 77-80)

IV. Allard's garden house, beyond Anarkali

'Crossing the parade ground, we entered on a road that winds through a very pretty groove of date-trees, celebrated for their exquisite fruit; and at the termination of this, on the right-hand side, the late general's retreat is situated. A large garden surrounds it, but is not laid out with any particular taste; and the residence itself, two storries high, is built in a half European and half Native style of architecture; the whole, inside and out, being embellished with paintings of dragoons, lancers, and foot-soldiers, nearly half as large as life.' (pp. 82-83)

V. The royal palace, Lahore (on another occasion)

'Passing through another gateway decorated with paintings of figures, wild animals, etc., fashioned in the most grotesque style, we were conducted into a large rectangular court, in which the Hall of Audience is situated....The throne from whence the emperors, in former days, were wont to administer justice, projected from the centre of one of the longer sides, and is raised several feet above the ground....We were admitted through a low archway beneath the throne to a small court, and close to a building which contains the regal entrance to the hall of justice. The exterior of this is covered with paintings in oil of a very extravagant description, and evidently of late construction, as one subject represents the interview of the Maharajah with Lord William Bentinck at Roopur. The parties are supposed by the artist to be assembled in the audience tent, the Sikhs being arranged on one side and the British on the other. The two great potentates occupy the centre of the scene, and Lady William, accoutred in white trousers, boots' and gold straps, is seated a few paces behind her husband An uglier set of vagabonds than the man of daubs has made of our countrymen cannot well be conceived; though the people who accompanied us regarded them as likenesses, and were eager to point out "Macnaghten Sahib" the "Bakhshee Sahib", and others, who have only to see their portraits to be grateful. Another picture represents the Maharajah in the presence of Baba Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh sect; the holy father being most splendidly robed in a suit of embroidered gold, and sitting; whilst his disciple, who has done so much to extend the domains of his followers, is dressed in bright green silk, and standing, with his hands joined in a supplicatory manner. Behind the Baba, keeping guard, is an Akali with a drawn sword, and with but very little covering. A third represents a similar scene, with the single exception of Runjeet Singh being in a still more humiliating position—on his knees. A few drawings of flowers, which separate these compartments one from another, are extremely well done, and true to nature.

On leaving the picture-gallery, as we dubbed this remarkable building, we were conducted to the

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King's garden, around which is a handsome stone balustrade.' (pp. 99-102)

VI. Fort of Hari Singh Nalwa, Gujranwala

'In the evening, we walked to the fort and entered it by a large and new, though not quite finished gateway, callad the "Nuobut Khaneh" or place where state drums play. After passing through a second gateway, which brought us to a garden, our attention was immediately arrested by a ridiculous picture representing the battle of Jamrood, in which Hari Singh lost his life. It is painted on the back of an apartment fitted up with receptacles for lamps to illuminate the fountains in its interior, and is about twelve feet long by six feet in height. It is divided into two compartments, the left side being devoted to the exploits of Hari Singh's army, the other to those of Akbar Khan, his antagonist's. The two upper rows tell of the advance of cavalry regiments on either side; the next two, of the formidable array of jinjalls carried on camels' backs, preceded by a few horsemen, who have already come into action; the fifth, which is the centre one, displays the valiant Hari Singh sumptuously clothed, and seated on the elephant, with an attendant behind holding a "chattah" over his head, the renowned Akbar Khan being opposite to him, similarly mounted and similarly attended. Below these are other squadrons of cavalry and camel sowars, of both nations, facing each other; and the concluding line is occupied by a detachment of Sikh infantry marching in regular order to the sound of martial music, with a gun in front blowing a party of Affghans into eternity. The whole skill of the artist seems concentrated on this spot; for independent of the grape-shot, which appear in multitude as the stars of the firmament, he portrays with dignified ease and simplicity the muscular power of an Affghan, who is lifting his wounded comrade from the ground with one hand, and that too with so little apparent exertion as to be seemingly a matter of ordinary occurrence with him. The same display of strength is exhibited among the cavalry in one of the upper rows, where a Sikh, with one stroke of his scimitar, has sereved a horse into two equal portions; which, strange to say, in spite of the dismemberment, are capable of retaining the uprightness of their position; and another, of the same nation, has, by a clean sweep of his sabre, cut of the head of an Affghan, which is being returned with the velocity of a bullet into the ranks of his wondering countrymen, whose heads and arms are flying off in every direction, and are parted with by their owners with all possible indifference and utter disregard of their value, whilst the Sikhs are unscathed. Nor ought the dignified complacency and perfect good humour visible in the countenances of the two chiefs, opposed to each other in deadly conflict, to be overlooked; and it would be well if more civilised generals were to display equal urbanity of manner and coolness of demeanour when brought in such close contact on similar occasions, and take example from their behaviour, as depicted by the artists, whose skill is only equalled by his impartiality; inasmuch as, though it is a notorious fact that the Sikhs in the end were defeated, it is not so well known that all the wounded and slain were on the side of the victors. Such, however, we found it to be in this panorama; and it need not be added; that we derived much amusement from the representation of the battle of Jamrood, in which the really gallant Harri Singh closed his career some two or three years ago....' (pp. 130-133)

Of a visit the following day :

'Morning, however, dawned before the camels returned, and as the carts were not forthcoming for some hours after, our march was postponed till the afternoon, and I took advantage of the delay to pay Harri Singh's villa another visit, in hopes of seeing the upper apartment. Nor was I disappointed; and the harmonious manner in which the gilding and colours are blended, the elegant arrangements of the ornaments on the ceiling, and the richness of the chamber throughout, deserved the encomiums we had had lavished on it. In recesses formed beneath a series of Saracenic arches, are a number of glazed paintings on a small scale, and, omitting the perspective, by no means badly executed. Some of these related to their gods, others to the haram, and the latter, as may be supposed, were by no means most decorous in their description. As several of them have been entirely removed, and many glasses of others are cracked, we asked our guide for an ex-

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planation; and he replied that the apartment belonged exclusively to the fair daughters of Eve, who on one occasion had quarrelled amongst themselves, and to settle their differences had restored to the feminine weapon of slippers, which they heroically flung at each other's heads, and thus caused the destruction apparent in the late Sirdar's property.' (pp. 137-138)

VII. Summer house by the tombs of Ranjit Singh's parents, Gujranwala

'On our return to camp, a respectable and intelligent Sikh offered his services to pilot us to the "Sirkari Bagh", where the remains of Runjit Singh's father and mother are interred....A "baraderie", or summer-house, covered with paintings in bad taste, and but indifferently executed, is erected in the centre of the garden, which is large, but very inferior to Hari Singh's, though it can boast of a few good trees.' (pp. 138-139)

VIII. Town gateways, Wazirabad

'Before, however, we reached Wazirabad, the villages had become numerous, the jungle was cleared away, and fields of young corn threw a cheerful aspect round the neighbourhood. We passed beneath a lately-constructed and lofty gateway, covered, as usual, with grotesque paintings of all descriptions, the figures being nearly as large as life. The street we traversed was broad, clean, and possessed of some good houses, and is, I should say, a mile, or not far short of it, in extent. A similarly decorated gateway brought us out of the town, and another adjacent to it, under which we also passed, is even more highly embellished—the pictures being stuck as close to a one another as they can be put.' (pp. 140-141)

IX. Shooting-box of Ranjit Singh, Gujrat

'We walked in the evening to a building a short distance from our camp, and which, though unfinished, is evidently intended for a shooting box, as the majority of the pictures with which it is embellished are representations of sporting feats; such as cock-fighting, hunting, wrestling, etc., and are the only drawings on such subjects that I have yet met with in the Punjab.' (p. 147)

X. Avitabile's mansion, Peshawar

'The General's mansion is raised to the height of three stories, thus completely commanding the city and overlooking the neighbouring ground...An avenue of young trees stretches from the mansion to the gateway, where the Governor has also a few apartments, still in an unfinished state, but, like the former, decorated with paintings in the native style.' (pp. 151-152)

6. Hugel, Baron Charles, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, containing a particular account of the Government and Character of the Sikhs*, (London, 1845).

Baron Charles Hugel was an Austrian who visited Punjab a few years before the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He describes murals on three buildings in Punjab :

I. Country house of Ranjit Singh, Wazirabad

'There (at Wazirabad) the Maha Raja has built a palace in the midst of a lovely garden, which is a singular edifice, both in its exterior form and its internal decorations. It has two stories, and in the centre is a sort of tower which divides the wings, while the outside walls, as well as the apartments within, are adorned with fresco paintings illustrative of the religion of the Sikhs. Among them are portraits of Gurus from Nanak the first to Govind the last, the size of life; the chief painter of Ranjit's court is certainly not a Raphael.' (p. 250)

II. General Ventrau's house, Anarkali

'General Ventura's house, built by himself and General Allard, though of no great size, combines the splendour of the East with the comforts of a European residence. On the walls of the entrance hall, before the range of pillars on the first story, was portrayed the reception of two French officers at the court of Ranjit Singh, consisting of many thousand figures.' (pp. 283-284)

III. General Allard's house, Anarkali

'In General Allard's garden, built by himself, is a

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pretty little building. The eagle and Napoleon's flag are displayed on every wall, and here and there are figures representing the soldiers who served under him. In the upper storey are a few rooms, adorned with mirrors, and set apart for the female of his family.' (p. 311)

7. Mackenzie, Helen (Mrs. Colin), *Life in the Mission, the Camp and the Zenana : or Six Years in India* (London, 1853), *3 Vols.*

Describes murals at Amritsar :

'I started about half-past eight in my palki for Amritsar and arrived about sunrise next morning at the Ram Bagh, Ranjit Singh's residence, where Mr. McLeod, the Assistant Commissioner, now lives.... After breakfast our kind host took me into a tower from which I sketched the gateway. The walls of the small room in which we sat were covered with curious paintings of scenes from the Hindu Mythology. After tiffin Mr. McLeod drove me through the town...It is a most picturesque place with narrow streets, beautifully carved houses, the upper stories projecting over the lower ones and many of them adorned with curious paintings. I saw one house with a row of peacocks, the size of life, supporting the balcony. In Lahore a row of geese perform a similar office, so well carved and painted and in such natural attitudes (one of them stretching out its neck as if hissing at passers-by) that we at first took them for live birds.' (III, p. 58-59)

8. Coley, James, *Journal of the Sutlej Campaign of 1845-46, and also of Lord Harding's Tour in the following Winter* (London, 1856).

Observes murals at Amritsar :

'Most of the houses in Amritsar are painted all over with figures of men, women, beasts and birds, among which the sacred peacock predominates. Some of the figures are very obscene.' (p. 107)

9. Wolff, Joseph, *Travels and Adventures* (London, 1862), 2 Vols.

Joseph Wolff resided with Avitabile, the Governor of Wazirabad, in 1832. He observed murals in the bed-room of his host :

'He (Avitabile) told Wolff at once that he would show him his guardian angels and took him upto his bedroom, the walls of which were covered with pictures of dancing-girls...' (II, p. 61)

10. Wakefield, W., *Our Life and Travels in India* (London, 1878).

Has the following note on murals of the Golden Temple, Amritsar :

'Its roof is plated with gilded metal from which it derives its name, and its walls are covered with erotic frescoes.' (p. 390)

11. Ross, David, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind : Sketches, Historical and Descriptives* (London, 1883).

Has the following account of murals :

I. Avitabile's house at Wazirabad

'The town is well and regularly laid out. It was rebuilt by General Avitabile .. The streets are wide and handsome, and the bazar is very commodious.... Avitabile erected a palace and pleasure grounds. The walls of the former are covered with curious full-sized figures of Sikh Gurus, painted in fresco.' (p. 140)

II. A Hindu temple at Gujrat

'A handsome Hindu temple, or mandar, much venerated by the Hindus, is an object of great attraction to the inhabitants for hundreds of miles around. The interior is ornamented with paintings of natives riding peacocks; antelopes, griffins and other fabulous animals are also represented.' (p. 145)

12. Douie, J.M., "Guru Guga as a Snake-God", *Indian Antiquary*, XXVI, March 1887.

Referring to a village in district Ambala, it carries the following note on murals :

'I have...,seen a picture of Guga Pir on the

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parapet of a new well in a Jat village....The Saint was seated on a horse, and was starting from the Bagar country. His mother, standing in front of the horse, was trying to stop his departure. He held in his hand a long staff (bhala), explained to be a mark of dignity, and over his head the heads of two snakes met, one being coiled round the bhala.' (p. 84)

13. Oman, John Campbell, *Indian Life, Religious and Social* (London, 1889).

Describing the cenotoph of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore, it includes the following note on its murals :

'The side walls of the arches in the gallery are decorated with fresco paintings representing scenes from Hindu mythology taken chiefly from those inexhaustible sources of Hindu legendary lore, the Mahabharata and Ramayana.' (p. 155)

14. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *Lahore, Its History of Architecture and Antiquities* (Lahore, 1892).

Has following references to murals in edifices located in Lahore :

I. The *haveli* of Prince Nau Nihal Singh

'The roofs are decorated with paintings and mirrors, and are worked in gold. The walls are richly and tastefully ornamented with glasses and artificial flowers.' (p. 233)

II. The *Shivala* of Raja Dina Nath

'The walls fronting the street are tastefully decorated with paintings of Devatas and Avatars... The inside walls are decorated with paintings of deities and gods.' (pp. 234-235)

III. The *thakurdwara* of Chor-Mar

'It was built fifty years ago, in the time of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh...The *mandir* is furnished with chambers and side rooms, profusely decorated with paintings and mirrors.' (p. 240)

IV. The *thakurdwara* of Radha Krishan

'....the walls inside the roofs are ornamented with paintings of gold and silver.' (p. 242)

15. Vogel, J. Ph., "The Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad." *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, X, No. 86, Jan., 1904.

Shujabad is situated 25 miles south of Multan. Here Jahazi Mahal was built by Muzaffar Khan in 1808 and was adorned with murals of a peculiar nature. Vogel gives the following account of these paintings :

'Passing on to the opposite western room, one finds its walls decorated with curious pictures of cities and palatial buildings, painted on sunk panels of different sizes and shapes, the raised corners of which are mostly filled with floral ornament. These frescoes unhappily have suffered much from the periodical whitewashing, which at places have entirely covered the paintings. The colours, moreover, have undoubtedly lost much of their original brightnesss. This mural decoration, certainly the most interesting part of the building, contains also a reminiscence of Muzaffar Khan's pious achievement, they are said to represent the places which the noble pilgrim visited on his journey. Whether they really give a faithful picture of the Arabian cities may very well be doubted : even the Ka'bah will be sought in vain. But with their stately white mosques and palaces, thin graceful pavilions surrounded by trees of various forms and foliage against a background of towering, reddish rocks, they certainly suggested something strange and fascinating, something unknown in the land of five rivers and might vaguely remind the old Nawab of the wonders seen in the holy land.

The total absence of living beings to animate their scenes lends an air of strange desolation and melancholy, suggesting that spell-bound city of the Arabian Nights, the inhabitants of which were all turned to stone. But this feature proves that Nawab Muzaffar Khan was a strict Muhammadan and, unlike many more exalted rulers of India, did not suffer any infringement of the law of Islam, which forbids the representation of living beings.' (p. 39)

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'Still more attractive to the Western eye are the purely decorative paintings of scrolls, flowers and foliage which fill the spandrels and boarders, exhibiting designs of great elegance, painted in uncommonly fresh and pleasing colours. It is specially noteworthy how devoid these frescoes are of that gaudiness and harshness which often disfigures mural decoration in India. On their plain white background these delicately-tinged flowers present an air of charming simplicity and resemblance: qualities the more striking in a period of artistic degradation and tasteless ostentation.' (p. 39)

16. Cotton, Julian James, "General Avitabile", *Calcutta Review*, CCXLVI, Oct. 1906.

Writing a very detailed account of General Avitabile, J.J. Cotton gives several references to murals :

I. Avitabile's house, Peshawar

'....his own little sanctum, most curious, most comfortable, decorated from floor to ceiling with loves of Hindu deities.' (p. 570)

'Had he (Allard) paid a visit to Avitabile he would have been struck by his gallery of many coloured frescoes in which the incidents of the East were combined with the souvenirs of the West. Here was Ranjeet Singh in all his glory ; there Napoleon, and a portrait of a nameless European lady, whose identity we would fain discover. Over the doorway two inelegant angels held scrolls in their hands with French and Latin inscription. One was La Fontaine's couplet of Death and the Sage; the other was an Ovidian distich which has great force in its application to the career of these free-lancers in a foreign land "Donec eris felix multos numberabis amicos Tempora si fuerint nubila solus eris".' (p. 576)

II. Residence of Ventura, Lahore

'....a vast domed tomb which the Emperor Jahangir had reared to Akbar's favourite wife, Anarkali, had been converted into a residence by Ventura and Allard. In the grounds of this mausoleum Ventura had built himself a superb habitation. On the walls of the entrance hall between a noble range of pillars was painted the reception of the two generals at the court of Lahore, introducing more than a thousand figures.' (p. 576)

III. Paintings on the ceiling of Alla.d's bungalow, Lahore.

'The Francese Compo marched to arms under the Gallic eagle and the tricolour, writ large with the name of Guru Govind Singh, the Sikh Judas Maccabaens, mighty in prayer as in battle....The very ceiling of his bungalow was painted in native style with his old friends the eagle and the tricolour.' (pp. 575-576)

17. Vogel, J. Ph., "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", *Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, I, No. 1, 1911.

Has the following account of murals in the Lahore Fort :

'The *Jharoka*, which consists of a marble balcony supported on four brackets of red-sandstone, belongs, as we saw to Jahangir's palace. It makes part of a rectangular building, consisting of twelve small rooms, which forms the back of Diwan-i-amm ....The walls of the twelve rooms have white marble with stucco ornament in relief and frescoes now covered with a thick layer of military whitewash. The painting of the ceilings was probably done in Sikh times. In one of the rooms we notice in the centre of the ceiling a gaudily painted sun.' (p. 46)

'We now enter a smaller court, in which we notice a gate of white marble which occupies the centre of its southern enclosure. Its general appearance is not ungraceful, but its Sikh origin is clearly indicated by certain details such as the combination of white marble and red sandstone brackets, and that of marble trellis screens with red sandstone posts (Arabic mutakka) in the ornamental railing which is placed on the roof of the building. The curious frescoes on the north wall, relating to the legend of Krishna, are evidently the work of one of Ranjit Singh's court-painters.

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These frescoes, though comparatively recent, are the most pleasing specimens of pictorial art found in the Lahore Fort and contrast strongly with the crude work found in the adjoining Shah Burj. In the central panel Krishna, recognizable from his blue complexion and saffron-coloured robe, is celebrating the Holi festival with his frolicsome playmates, the merry cowherd-maidens of Braj. Some are making music and some besprinkle each other with coloured water and powder. Two gopies are shown in the act of filling squirts (pichkara) in a tank, while baskets full of red powder stand behind. Krishna himself meets his beloved Radha under a pavilion on the banks of the Jamna which is gay with crowded boats.

The right hand panel displays another sportive scene. This is occupied by a huge whirligig—such as still may be seen in Hindu fairs—with four swing boxes in one of which Krishna is seated with two female companions. To the left are two girls standing on a swing attached to the branch of huge mango tree. To the right two others are swinging round with panels joined. A town, a herd of cattle, some peacocks and a *yogi* squatting on a tiger-skin in front of a shrine, supply the accessories. The left hand panel shows Krishna again with a file of *gopis* playing on various musical instruments.' (pp. 51-52)

'The main room a rectangular hall of noble dimensions, has a dado of white marble, while the upper portion of the wall and the ceiling are decorated with a mosaic of glass laid in gypsum which has given the building its name of *Shish Mahall* or "place of Mirrors" ....It may be noticed that this decoration belongs to two different epoches. The ceiling with its prevailing aspect of subdued gild made undoubtedly part of the original edifice. It is rich without being guady. The wall decoration on the contrary is decidedly vulgar, and the introduction of sherds of blue-and-white china bears a testimony to a childish taste. It is typical Sikh work, and if any proof is wanted, I may note that, when a few years ago a part of the glass work was peeled off, the wall beneath was found to be painted. But it appears that this wall painting also dates back only to Sikh times.

The coarse painting on the arched panels was certainly done in the last days of Sikh ascendancy. In this connection I wish to record an anecdote which my old friend Faqir Qamru-d-din told me on the spot. He said that Dilip (vulgo Dhuleep) Singh, shortly before being taken to England, pointed out to him a particular flower in one of the panels of the back wall each of the central archway, and said with boyish Pride : "Hazrat, ever remember that this flower was painted by me".

The central hall is surrounded by a row of nine smaller rooms decorated in the same fashion.' (pp. 52-53)

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Appendix B

Initial Observations of Punjab Mural Arts By European Scholars

GOLDEN TEMPLE AT AMRITSAR, PUNJAB*

By H.H. COLE, MAJOR, R.E.

Amritsar was founded in A.D. 1574 around a sacred tank from which the city takes its name "Pool of Immortality". The site granted by the Emperor Akbar to Ram Dass, the Guru of the Sikhs, became covered with temples and huts and was at first named Ramdaspur, from the founder. He made Amritsar the proper seat of his followers, the centre which should attract their worldly longings for a material bond of union, and the obscure hamlet, with its little pool (General Cunningham tells me there was a village named "Chak" on the site) has grown into a populous city and the great place of pilgrimage of the Sikh people. In A.D. 1756 Prince Timur, the son of Ahmed Shah Durani, expelled the Sikhs from Amritsar, demolished the buildings, and filled the sacred reservoir with the ruins.

In A.D. 1762 the army of the Khalsa assembled at Amritsar, the faithful performed their ablutions in the restored Pool, and the first diet, or Gurumutta, was held. The same year Ahmed Shah destroyed the renewed temples and polluted the tank with the blood of cows. In A.D. 1764 the Sikhs became Masters of Lahore, the chiefs again assembled at Amritsar, proclaimed their own sway, and rebuilt the temples.

In A.D. 1802 Ranjit Singh repaired the principal buildings and roofed the temples with sheets of copper gilt.

The Tank, as it now exists, is about 500 feet square, and fed by the old Hasli Canal. The Golden Temple stands on a platform in the centre, and is approached by a pier, at the end of which is the Darshani Door, or "Gate of Sights". The Tank is surrounded by bangahs, i.e., dwellings for visitors and pilgrims. To the east is a garden with several

*Reproduced from *Golden Temple at Amritsar, Punjab*, published by order of the Governor-General in Council for the office of Curator of Ancient Monuments in India, 1884.

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fountains, called the Guru-ka-Bagh, made in A.D. 1588, and due south of this the Kaulsar Tank, 410 feet by 170 feet. Further east stands the tomb of Baba Atal (built in A.D. 1628). The whole place is full of interest, although so comparatively modern. In repairing the Golden Temple, Ranjit Singh used many of the inlaid decorations and marbles carried away from the tomb of Jahangir and other Muhammadan monuments at Lahore. It is stated in the official list of buildings of interest published by the Punjab Government in 1875 that the design of the temple repaired by Ranjit Singh was borrowed from the shrine of the Muhammadan Saint Mian Mir, near Lahore (1635 A.D.).

At the request of Sir Robert Egerton, the late Lieutenant Governor, I had a careful survey made of the Tank and buildings. It will therefore be more fitting to postpone a detailed description. The architecture is an adaptation of Muhammadan styles, flavoured with a good deal that is of Hindu tradition. Birds and animals are introduced in the marble mosaics, and mythological scenes are depicted in the paintings of the interiors. A peculiar flat arch is of frequent use in the facades and seems to have been universal in Sikh buildings and tombs.

The doors of the Darshani Gate are of shisham wood, the front overlaid with silver, the back inlaid with ivory. The silver plated front is ornamented with panels only. The back arranged in square and rectangular panels with geometric and floral designs, in which are introduced birds, lions, tigers, and deers. Some of the ivory inlay is coloured green and red, the effect being extremely harmonious.

In January 1881, when I first visited Amritsar, I noticed the mosaics to be suffering from dirt and neglect, and recommended their being periodically cleaned and kept from cracking by careful oiling.

The earliest specimen of oriental marquetry that I know occurs in the famous Somnath Gates, now in the Agra Fort. The elaborate Saracenic patterns on them prove that, even if the wood frames were originally in the Somnath Temple, they must have been recarved by Mahmoud of Ghazni. They date at all events, from the early part of the eleventh century, and having been recently cleaned are discovered to be really of sandalwood.

Mr. Fergusson writes : "The carved ornaments on them are so similar to those found at Cairo in the Mosque of Ebn Touloun (A.D. 885) and other buildings of that age, as not only to prove they are of the same date, but also to show how similar were the modes of decoration at these two extremities of the Moslem Empire at the time of their execution."

The wooden mimbar, or pulpit, in the mosque of Qous, Cario (twelfth century A.D.) and the marquetry in the Mehrab of the mosque of Nesfy Qeycoum, also at Cairo (fourteenth century A.D.) are inlaid with ivory, the geometrical and floral patterns, which are most elaborate and beautiful resembling Indian work of the same class.

The doors of the mosque of Khazrete at Samarkhand (the building dates before 1405 A.D., when Tamerlane died) are of wood, inlaid with ivory, in patterns very Indian in design, and as we know Tamerlane to have been much struck with Indian architecture, when he invaded India in A.D. 1398, and to have carried off Indian workmen from Delhi to Samarkhand, it is probable that examples of marquetry existed there before the fourteenth century.

The earliest existing specimens of Indian marquetry I know are at Ahmedabad and Bijapur. The wooden canopy over Shah Alam's tomb (A.D. 1475) at the former place being handsomely incrusted with mother-of-pearl. The doorways of the Ashar Mahal (A.D. 1580) at the latter place are inlaid with ivory. The canopy over Sheik Salim Chisti's tomb (A.D. 1581) at Fatehpur Sikri is of wood, covered with tessera of mother-of-pearl.

The doorways in the Amber Palace near Jaipur (A.D. 1630) are of wood, variously ornamented with (i) Carved panels; (ii) Inlays of ivory; (iii) And small lozenges of ivory which are incrusted with what is known as Bombay inlaid work. Unfortunately these doors are very much neglected and falling to ruin. The doors of the Bari Mahal (A.D. 1711) at Udaipur are of another species of marquetry, some being

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ornamented with small panels of wood overlaid with ivory, like the modern work done at Vizagapatam, only in far better taste.

The inlaid work of Bombay was imported from Shiraz and Persia, and is the least effective of any of the Indian wood inlays, being extremely minute and monotonous in design.

The modern Hoshiarpur work resembles that in the Darshani Gate. It is a promising and rising art manufacture and could derive material for new patterns from the examples above quoted.

THE MOSQUE OF WAZIR KHAN LAHORE*

By J.L. KIPLING

The Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore, was built by Hakim Ali-ud-din, A.D. 1634, on the site of the tomb of an old Ghaznevide Saint. During the time that Hakim Ali-ud-din—more commonly known by his title of Wazir Khan—and Ali Mardan Khan, the great Mogul engineer, ruled in Lahore, under the emperor Jehangir and Shah Jehan, his successor, between 1628 and 1657, Lahore enjoyed an interval of peace and prosperity, marked by the construction of important works. It is indeed to the period of the Mogul dynasty, from Humayun to Aurangzeb, i.e., from A.D. 1650 to A.D. 1700, that all the important monuments of Lahore must be referred. There are no architectural remains of the ancient Hindu periods, and but little of the Pathans. Hakim Ali-ud-din was a Pathan by race, born at Chiniot in the Jhang district, and he rose from obscurity to the position of Wazir in the reign of Shah Jehan. According to one tradition, he practised as a physician at Delhi, and was called in as a last resource to be consulted about the ailment of one of the Emperor's favourite concubines. Her illness, so far as he could make out from what he was told by those about her, seemed to require bleeding for its cure. But it was manifestly impossible that he could be allowed to perform this operation. So he desired a room to be prepared according to his directions. Two or three inches of bran were spread on the floor, and in this the Pathan doctor walked, tracing a cabalistic figure, and the lady was instructed to tread carefully in his footsteps. In these prints, however, lancets were concealed, and the patient was thus bled and cured. This story is told with variations of several Oriental personages, and it is not a very probable one. That Wazir Khan was a minister of considerable parts, great munificence and fine taste is clear. A local tradition says the Mosque which bears his name was built as a sort of salve to a conscience burdened with

*Reproduced from *The Journal of Indian Art, Vol. No. 19, July* 1887.

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Mural panel from Qila Mubarak, Patiala

35. In another similar painting described at serial No 34, Samba, a son of Krishna, stands before his father, with folded hands in supplicatory manner.

36. Themes relating to Krishna were quite popular with the mural painters of Punjab and Haryana. This popularity arises as much from the popularity enjoyed by Vaishnavism as from the fact that Krishna was the subject of a vast amount of work in miniatures. There is hardly a legend connected with him that does not seem to have been depicted. Here, accompanied by his brother Balarama, he is seen in the act of killing Kansa who had devised a grand plan to kill Krishna with the help of two fierce wrestlers. Krishna, however, not only vanquished the wrestlers but also slew Kansa, the demon-king.

Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala.

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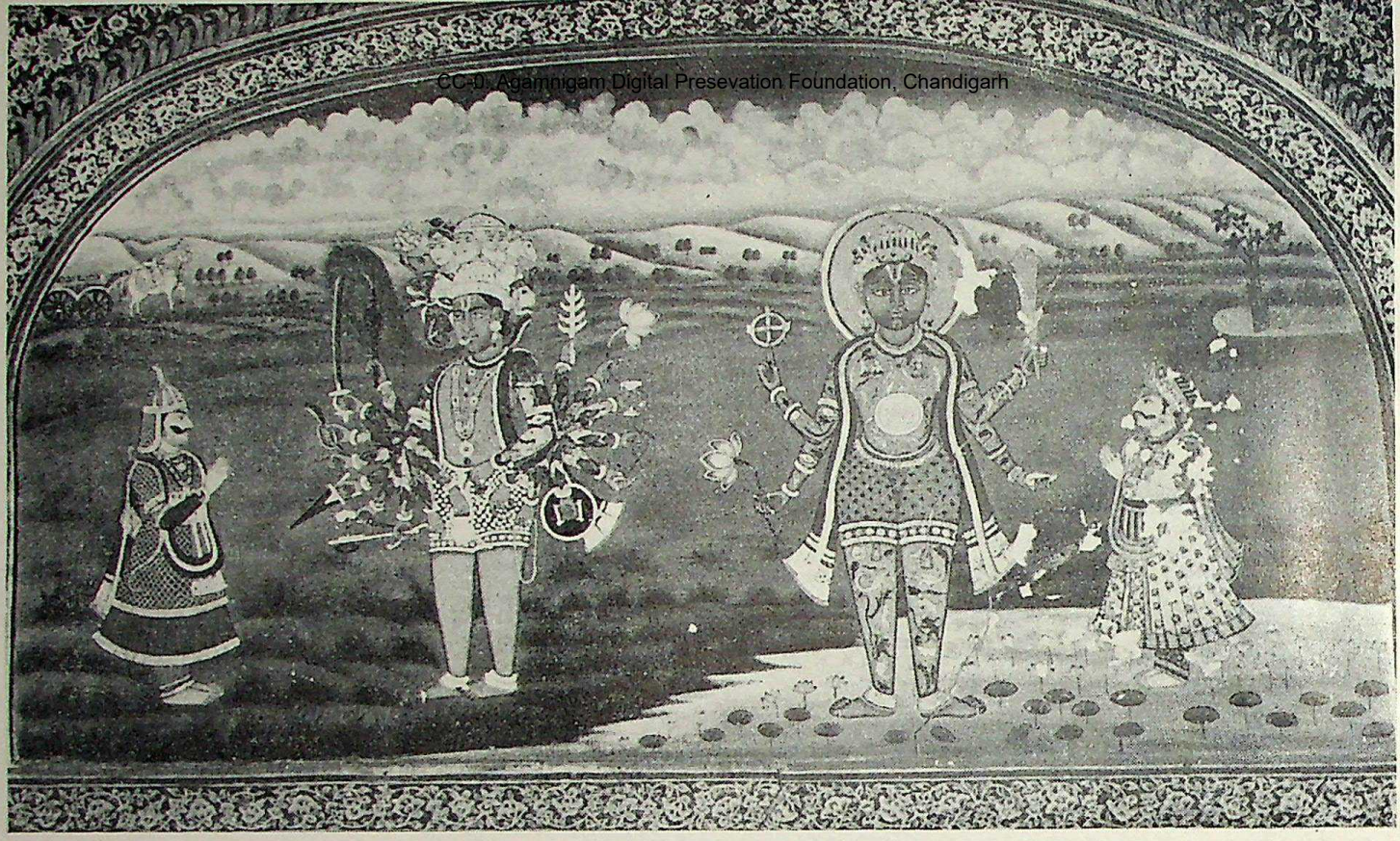

Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala

37. *Mahabharata* is an account of the epic battle which symbolizes the ultimate trumph of good over evil. When the armies of Kauravas and Pandavas were being set in order for battle, Arjuna, seeing his kinsmen, his flesh and blood, in the rival camp, trembled with pity and sorrow and hesitated from fighting. Krishna, the charioteer of Arjuna, infused courage into him by revealing his identity as an incarnation of Vishnu and explaining to him the necessity to fulfill one's *dharma*, or duty.

The picture depicts Krishna in two forms—in his usual form as well as in his *Virata rupa*—being visualized by Arjuna, prior to the battle of Kurukshetra.

38. In Hindu mythology, the benign and fierce aspects of human nature are personified by the consort of Shiva, known by various names of which the most popular is Durga. It is a representation of *Shakti*, the supreme power taking feminine form for the destruction of demons inimical to gods and men. Durga's mount is either a tiger or a lion and she has four, eight, ten or sixteen arms, depending on the dominance of a particular myth in the iconographer's region. This panel depicts the goddess in one of her fights for the destruction of two devils, Sumbha and Nisumbha.

Mural panel from the temple of Bhuri Mai at Patiala.

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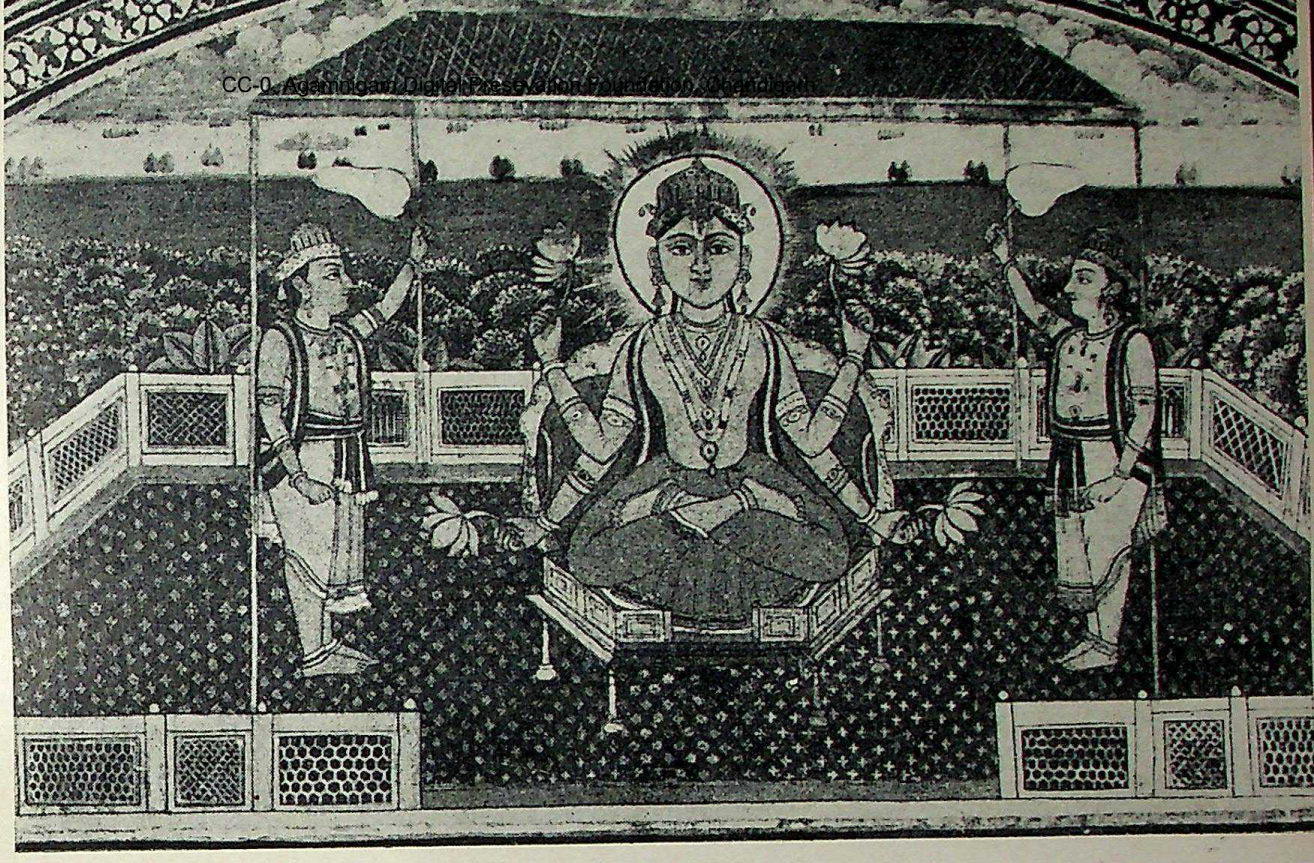

Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala

39. Lakshmi, being the goddess of wealth and material prosperity, is one of the most popular female deities of the Hindus. During the festival of *Diwali*, when lamps glitter all over the country, Lakshmi is venerated to gain her munificence. The consort of Vishnu, she is also known under various other names: Jaladhija (ocean-born), Kamla (lotus-born), Chanchala (the fickle one), etc. Here she is pictured as Kamla with a lotus, her symbol, held in each of her four hands. A beautiful, golden woman, she sits on a couch under a canopy with two male attendants flanking her.

Miniature painting, executed on paper, inserted into wall and covered with glass, to serve as a mural in Qila Mubarak at Patiala.

40. Lakshmi appears here in a slightly different pose, but holds a lotus in each of her four hands. With the use of nimbus behind, strikingly close to Jaipur work, as we see in this mural and also in many others from Patiala, there is reason to believe that the family of Rajasthani painters which migrated from Jaipur, was employed in the execution of the paintings.

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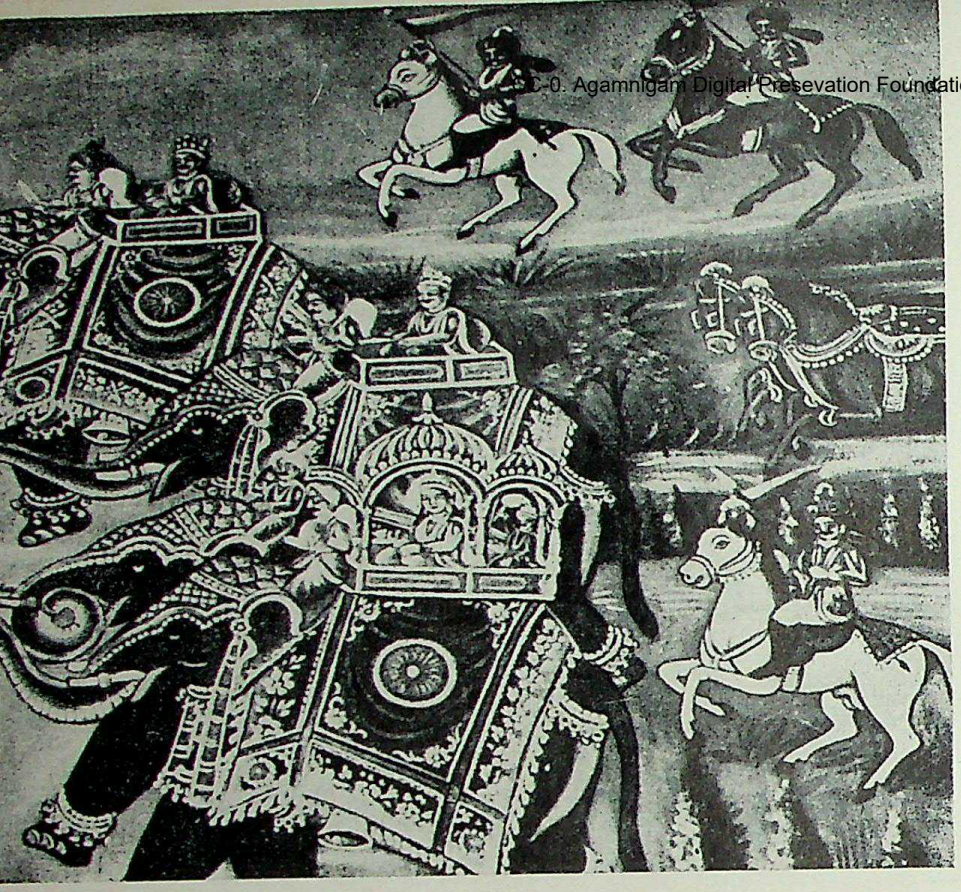
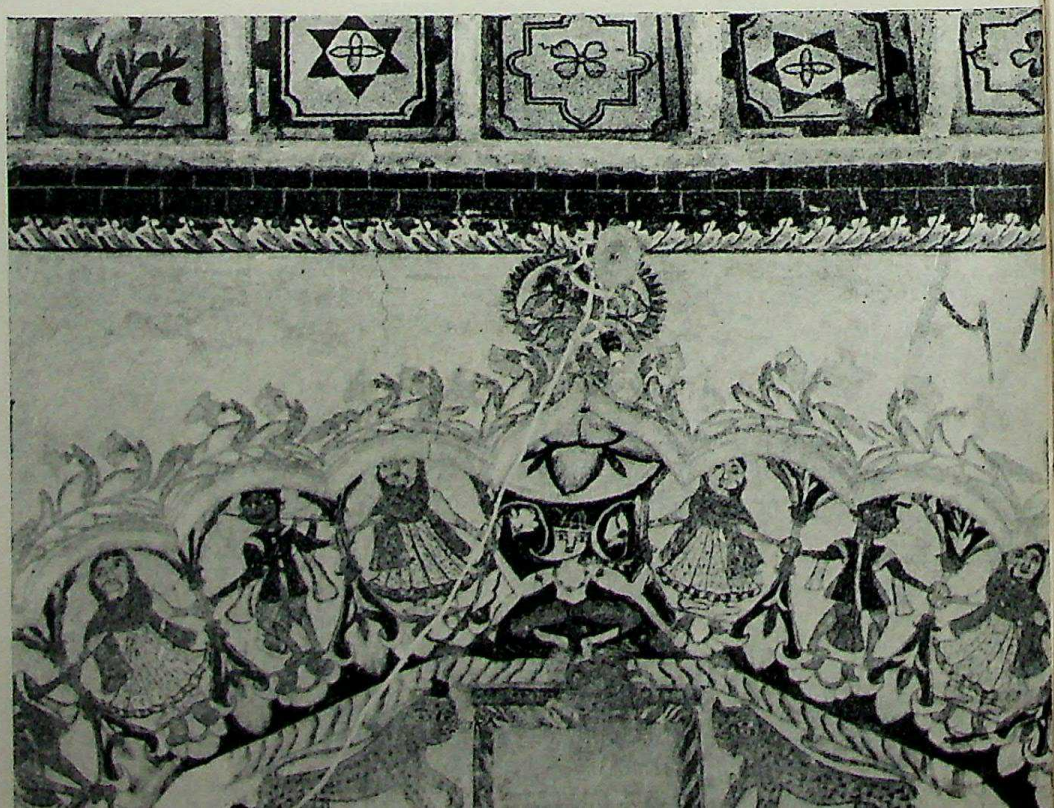


A detail of a mural panel from the Jain Shvetambara temple at Ambala City.

41. I came across four temples in Punjab and Haryana embellished with murals. These are the Digambara Jain Panchayti Mandir at Ferozepur Cantt., the Jain Shvetambara temple at Zira, the Digambara Jain temple at Sadhaura and the Jain Shvetambara temple at Ambala City. The themes painted on the walls of these temples are exclusively Jain. This reproduction is a part of a panel that illustrates a Jain procession concerning the *samavasarana* in the Jain Shvetambara temple at Ambala City. The murals in the temple were recently painted afresh, however, without altering the original compositions; hence the gaudy effect.

Mural panel from a Shiva temple at Patti Kalyana, district Karnal.



42. An amalgamation of diverse themes is often to be seen in the wall-paintings of Punjab and Haryana. This panel shows decorative motifs; Ganesha, the elephant-headed guardian of the portals; Krishna and *gopies* in their enternal dance and tigers facing each other, apparently as Durga's mount. The object principally seems to be to embellish a building rather than use it as an occasion for working around some carefully chosen themes. The fitting of electric wiring on walls, as we see here, have ruinated many mural panels.

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a guilty sense of much peculation and opression. But it is unfortunate that in a country which has so few records, excepting popular tradition, this form of evidence is of all others the least trustworthy. Another local tradition is that the art of making pottery for architectural decoration was introduced into India by Chinese workmen.

Dr. Thornton quotes a tradition which attributes its introduction by Tamerlane into the buildings of Samarcand, &c., to the influence of that monarch's Chinese wife. It is more than doubtful whether any Chinese workmen were ever employed in Lahore, and there is no reason to doubt that the art was introduced into India by the Moguls from Persia, where it had been practised for two centuries previously.

Mr. Fergusson in his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture", notices the enamelled tile decoration of the tombs near Tatta in Sind, and refers to the Mosque of Tabreez (A.D. 1300) in Persia, which is supposed to be one of the first examples of the use of ordinary faience tiles covered with enamel and painted in patterns, the art received in later times a new development. This consisted of the substitution for earthen tiles of an artificial paste or body, made chiefly of siliceous sand with lime and other ingredients, held together with gum or rice water, and resembling the paste of the Delhi pottery of today, to which however it is inferior in texture. Slabs of this paste, it would seem, were prepared of a suitable thickness, and on them the designs of foliated panels and other details are drawn. They were then cut up in pieces following the lines of the design. The leaves and flowers intended, to be green or red were painted with suitable colours; the grounds were also cut into pieces, coloured and apparently burned separately. The details of the ceramic thus prepared were embedded in lime mortar, generally within a margin of moulded brick. Curved surfaces were not often attempted in this material, but the pendentives of intersecting arches producing curved vaults were often most skilfully wrought. Ordinary clay was used for the curves of such details as the melon-like ribwork on small domes. The paste of which the mosaic is formed so strongly resembles ordinary hard mortar in its open, friable texture, that an officer of the Archaeological Department once asserted that the whole of the dome of a large building at Agra was once unbroken coat of vitreous enamel ! There is nothing in Lahore to suggest a conclusion of this kind, and careful examination shows that true *Kashi* work was produced by dissecting patterns drawn on an unburned artificial paste, which were fixed in their place after they had received a coating of vitreous enamel. It will be seen that this process produces a mosaic essentially different from the veneer of painted tiles common in Damascus, Persian, Mooltan, and most modern English work. No great heat seems to have been required to fuze the enamel, a circumstance which may have permitted the mixture of lime with the base. There is now no demand for this sort of work, and it is practically extinct. Its great advantage is that it permits the use of very large and bold patterns on flat surfaces. Thus, in the fort at Lahore there are large panels showing a *gul dasta* or foliated pattern of a branching tree, each leaf of which is a separate piece of pottery. The solidity and crispness of effect of this inlay, as compared with the painting of a pattern which wanders from tile to tile, is remarkable. It must be admitted that the colour *per se* are somewhat crude, and probably would look nowhere so well as in the fierce glare of Indian sunlight. The blue is vivid, the yellows are a bright mustard yellow, or sometimes a yellow inclining to salmon tint; and a bright orange, a dark purple, a raw, strong green and a white which would be considered too bright by European colourists complete the scheme of colour. There is great variety of designs on different buildings. On the front of the palace at the Lahore Fort, camels, elephants and winged peris are wrought, as well as foliage, contrary to strict Mussulman law; and the winged heads of Cherubs which occur in one place, have suggested to Dr. Thornton the surmise that there may be trace of the influence of the Jesuits, who were treated by the tolerant Jehangir with much consideration. Fresco painting is frequently used as an adjunct to *Kashi* decoration, which as a rule, was confined to the exterior. Surfaces protected from the weather are usually painted in fresco.

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THE JAHAZI MAHAL AT SHUJABAD*

By DR. J. PH. VOGEL

Shujabad is situated some twenty-five miles south of Multan on the way to Bahawalpur. The town is chiefly built of brick, and is surrounded by a wall with four gates. A broad bazar runs from the Multani gate on the north to the Rashid Shah gate on the south, and is crossed at right angles by another straight bazar running from the Mori Mori gate on the east to the Chautaka gate on the west. The city was founded in A.D. 1750 by Nawab Shuja Khan, who built the present walls in 1767 and 1772. The town was a favourite residence of the Nawab and great pains were taken by him to induce Hindus of wealth to live and trade in it. Under his son Nawab Muzaffar Khan the prosperity of the town was still further advanced. Besides eight large houses, one for each of his sons, this Nawab built at considerable cost the Mubarak Mahal, the Samman Burj and the Jahaz Mahal.[1]

The Jahaz (i) Mahal or Ship Palace, situated close to the Multani Gate and now used as office of the Tahsildar is neither of great age nor of architectural importance, but borrows its chief interest from its ceiling and wall decoration and from the name of its founder, the last Nawab of Multan. Its dimensions would hardly justify its designation; its ground plan is regular and of great simplicity, having in its middle an octagonal room, the centre of which was once occupied by a marble fountain which disappeared after the building had ceased to be a noble-man's mansion.[2] At present a considerable portion of the room is filled by a square platform with a wooden railing, used by the Tahsildar when holding his court. The central room is surrounded by four oblong octangular chambers alternating with four small apartments of irregular shape, which correspond by corridors with the main room, the whole forming a square of sixty by sixty feet.

In the middle of each of the four outer walls is a doorway. The main entrance from the south is surmounted by a heavy balcony. On the east and west sides the doorways consist of three scallopped arches supported by double pillars of carved woodwork, protected outside by a curious curvilinear wooden weathering, as is also found on the two other sides of the building. The windows are square and filled with well-carved wooden screens.

Originally the house had a second storey consisting of only one room, which being considered unsafe, was removed some eight years ago. The two above mentioned buildings—Mubarak Mahal (the Blessed Palace) and Musamman Burj (the octagonal tower) have likewise disappeared. The Hammam (Turkish bath) is now used as a store-room and has lost the splendour which perhaps it once possessed. In a detached building (now used as a hospital) some frescoes are found similar to those in the palace itself.

The most puzzling point about the Jahazi Mahal is certainly its name. Tradition—it is true—accounts for it by asserting that the palace was built after the fashion of a ship.[3] But without the help of an Oriental imagination it will be impossible to find in its appearance a justification for its interpretation. Some local authorities on the other hand assert that *jahazi* is merely a corruption of *hijazi*. This indeed would seem more plausible, considering the great resemblance of the two words, especially when written in the Persian character, but for the testimony of one of the surviving descendants of the founder, who assured me that Jahazi Mahal is the correct form. Anyhow, the name was evidently intended to indicate the occasion on which the edifice was erected, namely, the safe return from a pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

The year of its foundation is contained in three following Persian chronograms, inscribed over the entrance to the central room from the east :—

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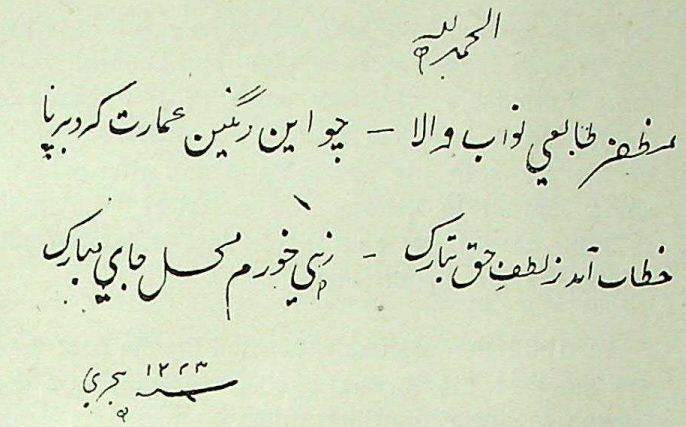
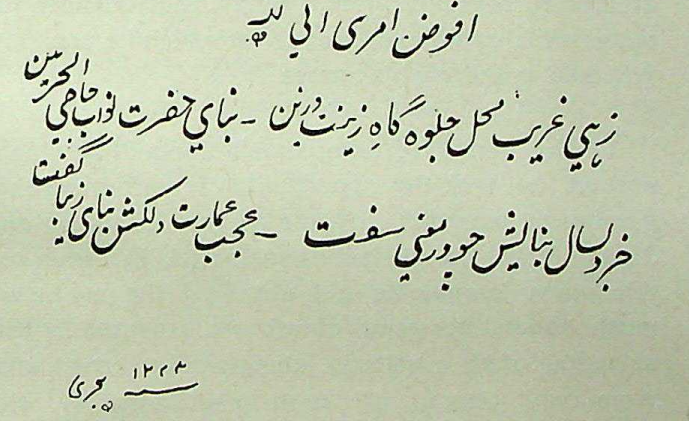


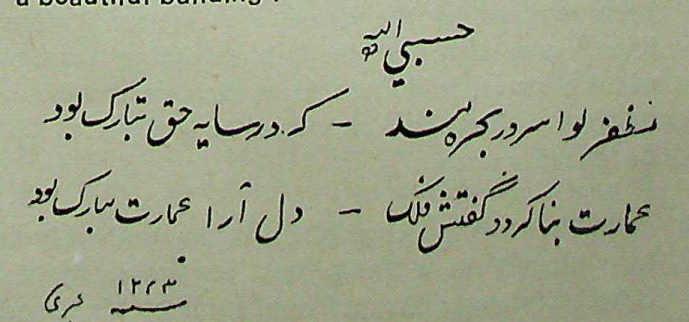
Praise be to God !

When the exalted Nawab, of victorious fortune, erected this ornamented building, the message came from the kind God (blessed is He !) : "How happy a palace, how blessed a place !"



I give up my cause to God.

What a marvellous palace, a world of ornament and decoration, the building of the noble Nawab, the pilgrim to the two holy cities. In the year of its building, the Intellect, when it bored the pearl of meaning, said : "A wonderful and charming structure, a beautiful building !"



God is sufficient to me.

The fortunate chief of victorious banner—may he be under the banner of God (blessed is He !)—erected the building and the sky said to him : "Blessed be the charming building !"

The date resulting from the chronograms, also expressed in figures, is A.H. 1223, corresponding with A.D. 1808. Passing on to the opposite western room, one finds its walls decorated with curious pictures of cities and palatial buildings, painted on sunk panels of different sizes and shapes, the raised corners of which are mostly filled with floral ornament. These frescoes unhappily have suffered much from the periodical whitewashing, which at places has entirely covered the painting. The colours, moreover, have undoubtedly lost much of their original brightness. This mural decoration, certainly the most interesting part of the building, contains also a reminiscence of Muzaffar Khan's pious achievement; they are said to represent the places which the noble pilgrim visited on his journey. Whether they really give a faithful picture of the Arabian cities may very well be doubted : even the *Ka'bah* will be sought in vain. But with their stately white mosques and palaces, their graceful pavilions surrounded by trees of various forms and foliage against a background of towering, reddish rocks, they certainly suggested something strange and fascinating, something unknown in the land of the five rivers and might vaguely remind the old Nawab of the wonders seen in the holy land.

The total absence of living beings to animate these scenes lends them an air of strange desolation and melancholy, suggesting that spell-bound city of the Arabian Nights, the inhabitants of which were all turned to stone. But this feature proves that Nawab Muzaffar Khan was a strict Muhammadan and, unlike many more exalted rulers of India, did not suffer any infringement of the law of Islam, which forbids the representation of living beings.

Still more attractive to the Western eye are the purely decorative paintings of scrolls, flowers and foliage which fill the spandrels and borders, exhibiting designs of great elegance, painted in uncommonly fresh and pleasing colours. It is especially

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noteworthy how devoid these frescoes are of that gaudiness and harshness which often disfigures mural decoration in India. On their plain white background these delicately-tinged flowers present an air of charming simplicity and resemblance : qualities the more striking in a period of artistic degradation and tasteless ostentation. The ceilings are of a type not uncommon in the Punjab, consisting of small pieces of wood arranged in geometrical designs and alternating with painted ornament and small mirrors of various shapes.

Except for its decoration the Jahazi Mahal would perhaps appeal but little to our curiosity, were it not that its founder had been one of the most prominent men in the Panjab shortly before the establishment of British rule in that province.

Muzaffar Khan[4] was the son of Shuja Khan Sadozai, who had been appointed to the governorship of Multan by his kinsman the famous Ahmad Shah Durani. The period of Shuja's rule was a constant struggle for supremacy with different rivals and with the rising power of the Sikhs. Finally the latter drove him out of his city and the Nawab died in exile at Bahawalpur in 1774.

His son Muzaffar (the conqueror), after repeated fruitless attempts to recover his hereditary dignity, succeeded at last in expelling the Sikhs from Multan with the powerful help of Timur Shah, king of Kabul, who appointed him governor with the title of Nawab Rukn-ud-daulah (pillar of the State). This happened in 1779 and from that year till his tragic death in 1818 he maintained himself against his manifold enemies.

Notwithstanding the external difficulties which beset him, he showed himself a capable ruler, devoting his energies not only to the defence of the province entrusted to his care, but also to developing its resources by promoting irrigation and by a frugal and wise administration. In 1790 he visited Kabul, where he stayed two years and was confirmed in his governorship when Shah-zaman succeeded Timur on the Afghan throne. The bitterest enemy of Muzaffar was Abd-ul-samad, a Badozai chief who at one time had been appointed governor by Shah-zaman, and who did all he could to injure the Nawab at the courts of Kabul and Lahore. But a more formidable adversary arose in the person of Ranjit Singh, who had united the scattered forces of the Sikhs in his strong hand, and after establishing himself in Lahore, the capital of the Panjab (1799), constantly and irresistibly extended his dominions over the province.

In 1802 the Maharaja directed for the first time the army of the Khalsa against Multan, but the Nawab meeting him thirty miles from the city induced him to retire after receipt of a large tribute. A second expedition in 1805 had the same result. But in the next year, on the instigation of the Nawab's old enemy Abd-ul-samad, the Maharaja occupied a portion of the Multan territory and laid siege to the city. In April part of the town was occupied by the Sikhs, but the fort withstood their attacks successfully. Ranjit Singh, not wishing to enter on a prolonged siege, for which he was not prepared, withdrew his armies.

In the period of comparative tranquillity which ensued, he took the opportunity of performing the pilgrimage prescribed by the Quran, of which the Jahazi Mahal is the lasting memorial. But even on this pious journey he did not find the rest he so much needed, for gangs of robbers, attracted by the splendour of his cavalcade, threatened to attack and were only bought off with great difficulty. He returned after an absence of fourteen months. A few miles south of Shujabad is an old garden called Mubarak Bagh from the fact that here the inhabitants of the town went to meet and congratulate the Nawab on his arrival.

In December 1807, Elphinstone's Embassy to Kabul had passed through Multan, where it had been received by the Nawab's eldest son Sarfaraz Khan,[5] who took his father's place during the time of his absence. It is said that on the return of distinguished ambassador from Kabul he was approached by Muzaffar Khan.

In fact, the aspect of affairs in the north of India had altered in a mode not favourable for the Nawab's interests. Ranjit Singh, successful in almost

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all his military undertakings, had established himself as supreme ruler of the Panjab and was recognized as such in the treaty concluded with the British Government in 1809 in which the Sutlej was declared the boundary between the dominions of both contracting parties. The year of the treaty was singularly auspicious to the Sikh ruler, as it saw him in possession of the strong hill-fort of Kangra and of the important town of Gujrat. Shortly afterwards Shuj'-ul-mulk, king of Kabul, was expelled from his state and in February 1810 he was obliged to seek refuge in the territories of the Maharaja.

This offered the later a fair pretext to renew his attempts on Multan, as this place was nominally a dependency of Kabul. On 20th February the army of the Khalsa appeared before the walls and next day took possession of the city. Muzaffar Khan having refused to pay a tribute of three lakhs of rupees, Ranjit Singh demanded from him the surrender of the Fort in the name of Shah Shuja, his overlord. But the Nawab, penetrating the true intention of his wily opponent, refused. Now every preparation was made by the besiegers to carry on the siege vigorously and the Sikh artillery was set at work. But the garrison offered so resolute a resistance that after a siege of two months, having lost many of his officers and men, the Maharaja was compelled to grant terms, and retired on receiving payment of a lakh and 80,000 rupees.

The next few years were passed in conflicts with minor opponents, such as the Nawab of Bahawalpur who had assisted the Sikhs in the course of their last assault. Of the final struggle which ended in Muzaffar Khan's death, the following lively account is given by Lepel H. Griffin[6] : "In February 1816 an irregular attack was made upon Multan by the Sikhs. A strong force had been sent to Bahawalpur and Multan to collect the tribute, and there being some delay in Muzaffar Khan's payment, Phula Singh Akali, mad and drunk with bhang, led a storming party of fanatics like himself against the town, and with such impetuosity did they make the attack that they gained possession of some of the outworks of the citadel. But Fakir Aziz-ud-din[7] made due apologies; the Nawab paid his tribute quicker than he would otherwise have done, and the Sikh army proceeded towards Mankera. In 1817 a Sikh army under Diwan Chand marched against Multan and attacked the fort, but was replused and retired on payment of ten thousand rupees. These attacks, however, were not made in earnest. The Maharaja was collecting his strength for a great effort, and he had sworn that Multan, which had so often defied him, should yet be his. During the cold weather of 1817 he was collecting supplies and men from all quarters, and in January 1818 an army of 25,000 men under the nominal command of Prince Kharrak Singh, but in reality commanded by Misr Dewan Chand, marched from Lahore. On the way to Multan the forts of Khangarh and Muzaffargarh were taken; the city was invested and captured early in February, and the bombardment of the fort commenced. The Nawab had a garrison of only 2000 men, and the citadel was not provisioned for a siege, but he made a defence the like of which the Sikhs had never before seen. Till the second of June the bombardment went on, and two large breaches had been made in the walls, for the great Bhangi gun,[8] the "Zam-Zam" of Ahmad Shah Durani, had been brought from Lahore and had been four times fired with effect. More than one assault was made by the Sikhs, but they were repulsed, on one occasion with the loss of 1800 men. The gates were blown in, but the garrison raised behind them mounds of earth on which they fought hand to hand with the Sikhs. The defenders of the fort were at last reduced to two or three hundred fighting men, most of them of the tribe or family of Muzaffar Khan. The rest had either been killed or had gone over to the enemy, for they had been heavily bribed to desert their master, and many of them were unable to resist the temptation. At length, on the 2nd June, an Akali, by name Sadhu Singh, determined to surpass what Phula Singh had done in 1816, rushed with a few desperate followers into an outwork of the fort and, taking the Afghans by surprise, captured it. The Sikh forces, seeing this success, advanced to the assault and mounted the breach at the Khizzi Gate. Here the old Nawab, with his eight sons and all that remained of the garrison, stood sword in hand, resolved to fight to the death. So many fell beneath the keen Afghan swords, that the Sikhs drew back and opened fire on the little party with their matchlocks. 'Come on, like men,' shouted the Afghans, 'and let us fall in

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fair fight,' but this was an invitation the Sikhs did not care to accept. There died the white-bearded Muzaffar Khan, scorning to accept quarter, and there died five of his sons. Zulfakar Khan, his second son, was also wounded severely in the face, and the two others accepted quarter and were saved."

The remains of the champion of Islam were buried near the spot where he fell at the entrance of the ancient shrine of Baha-ul-haq, the renowned saint of Multan. The plain grave, after the local fashion, is covered with a *tabut* of earth faced with blue and white Multan tiles. It bears this fine epitaph in Persian :

شجاع وابن الشجاع و حاجی - امیر ملتاں زہے مظفر
بروز میداں بہ تیغ بازو - چہ حملہ آور دچوں غضنفر
چو سر خرو شد بسوئے جنت - بگفت رضواں بیا مظفر
سنہ ۱۲۳۳ ھجری

of which the following is a translation[9] :

The brave, son of the brave, and Haji
Amir of Multan, O brave Muzaffar.
In the day of battle—with arm and sword—
How lion-like was his onslaught,
When, with face aflame, he set out
for Paradise,
The porter of Heaven's gate cried : "Come,
O Muzaffar !"

A.H. 1233=A.D. 1818.

1. E. D. Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District*, Lahore, 1902, p. 365 sq.
2. A beautiful marble floor which existed in one of the halls (probably the central one) has been used to decorate the Multan Subscription Library—Multan Gazetteer.
3. Arabo-Persian *Jahaz* means "ship"; the adjective *jahazi* "navalis", and used as a noun "sailor". It is curious that the term *jahaz (i) mahal* is found elsewhere in India, *e.g.*, at Bundi (Rajputana) and at Mahrauli near Delhi. At Hissar (Punjab) there is a Jahaz garh (Ship fort), but here the name is supposed to be a corruption of "George", the fort having at one time been occupied by the Irish raja George Thomas.
4. The following historical account has been drawn from the *Multan Gazetteer ;* Muhammad Latif's *History of the Punjab* ; Prinsep's *Ranjit Singh* ; and Lepel Griffin's *Panjab Chiefs.*
5. Of this curious reception an account is found in Elphinstone's *Kaubul* quoted in the *Multan Gazetteer,* p. 50.
6. Panjab Chiefs (Lahore, 1865), p. 485 sqq.
7. Faqir Aziz-ud-din and his brother Nur-ud-din, though Muhammadans, had great influence at the Sikh court.
8. The historical gun of Lahore, now placed in front of the Central Museum, has acquired a wide notoriety since it played a part in Rudyard Kipling's last novel, "Kim".
9. E. D. Maclagan, C. S., *Gazetteer of the Multan District*, Lahore, 1902, p. 340.

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TILE-MOSAICS OF THE LAHORE FORT*

By J. PH. VOGEL

THE PICTURED WALL OF LAHORE

On the Hathi Pol or Elephant Gate we notice first of all the Persian inscription which records the construction of the Shah Burj (*alias* Saman Burj) by Shah Jehan in A.H. 1041 (A.D. 1631), as has been noticed above. It is painted over the gateway and consists of two lines, each of four hemistychs (*misra'*), as usual, enclosed within ornamental lines. The spandrels of the intrados are embellished with raised medallions of stone inlaid with an intricate scroll-work pattern.

The entire surface round the extrados was once brilliantly decorated with tilework divided into sunk panels in the usual fashion. But that in the right hand spandrel has quite, and that to the left has partially disappeared, leaving an enormous patch of common plaster. On each side are two panels, placed one over the other and enclosed by borders of scrollwork in which flowers are introduced. The lower panel displays a graceful group of flowers of four different kinds—lilies, narcissi and daffodils. The upper panel shows a vase placed on a flat dish and filled with various flowers including well-rendered blue irises.

The wall adjoining the Hathi Pol is a curtain wall; its length from the gate to the Saman Burj is 40 feet. Here we notice at once the remarkable unity of composition combined with a marvellous variety of design, which is one of the chief features of this unique wall decoration. Along the whole length of the palace wall there run two cornices at a height of 19 and 51 feet respectively from its foot. Each cornice is underlined by a broad band of uniform geometrical design. In the upper band the lines are dark blue (*lajvard*), forming a repeat of six-pointed stars, the centre of each being marked by a small star of yellow colour. The lower band exhibits a *svastika* design in lines of turquoise blue. In each case the blue main lines are laid between two edges of terracotta, the intervening spaces being filled with terra-cotta screens pierced with a checkered design. The upper cornice is surmounted by a solid parapet decorated with the usual crenelated *(kungurah)* border.

The two cornices enclose a double row of arched recesses adorned with frescoes which display tulips, poppies and other flowers dear to the heart of the Persian poets. Their fading colours contrast with the brightness of the tile-mosaics which fill the spandrels. The patterns are geometrical except in one case where we find white herons carrying fish.

The arched recesses are of different widths, the narrower ones being divided into two by horizontal bands of tilework. In the middle of the lower recesses we notice projecting miniature balcony-windows (*bukharcha)* which add grace and variety to the decorated surface. They are continued along the whole length of the palace wall, but have suffered a great deal. In some cases they appear to have been mended with bits of blue-and-white Multani tiles, presumably by the Sikhs.

The upper recesses are all pierced in the centre with arched openings perhaps meant for loopholes. Between these recesses and the upper starry band there is a series of rectangular panels of tilework in alternating geometrical and floral patterns. These panels have been wantonly disfigured by being pierced with loopholes. Probably the Sikhs should be held responsible for this vandalism.

The Sikhs have left their stamp on this portion of the pictured wall also in the form of bullet marks. For these must date from the days when the Fort was twice bombarded, the first time in January 1841 on the accession of Sher Singh, who had to besiege Gulab Singh and his Dogras during five days, and again in September 1843 on the accession of Dilip Singh, when his minister Hira Singh captured it from the Sindhianvala Sirdars who had murdered both Sher Singh and Dhyan Singh. When reading Latif's spirited description[1] of this double bombardment, one wonders that anything of the Lahore Fort remained standing at all. That author relates that on the

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occasion of the first siege Sher Singh placed some forty marksmen *(mochis)* on the *minars* of the Imperial Mosque which at that time was used by the Khalsa as a powder magazine. "The *mochis* were paid at the rate of Rs. 10 to 20 each, and their commanding position enabled them to inflict considerable loss on the garrison inside the Fort, who were unable to reply effectually to their fire, since they commanded every corner of the palace with their weapons."

The bullet-marks of Sher Singh's *mochis* are particularly noticeable on the beautiful frieze of figured panels which run between the two rows of arched recesses just noted and consequently are placed at about half the height of the wall. They are continued on the west wall of the Saman Burj and constitute some of the best specimens of tilework, as exquisite in design as in colour. Dark blue elephants are most prominent, and the action of these massive beasts is ever expressed with singular vigour. How excellent is the elephant rushing after a fleeing horseman, its *mahaut* leaning back and trying in vain to restrain its fury. Several panels show scenes of the elephant fight which formed a chief recreation of the Moghul court. The first panel adjoining the Hathi Pol shows such a scene on a white background. According to prevailing custom, each of the two elephants is mounted by two men, so that the second might at once take the *mahaut's* place if the latter—as often happened—was pulled down and trampled to death by the opposing animal.[2] The figure jumping between the two elephants probably tries to separate them by means of two cross-shaped cressets (*charkhi*) which were used to end the combat before either elephant was killed.[3] As to the men who could be more easily replaced, no such precaution seemed required.

On another panel distinguished by a dark-green background, the two elephants, each mounted by one driver, have just caught hold of each other.

The third panel with the well-drawn white horses is not less decorative, though the exact meaning of the scene depicted is by no means clear. Possibly the two figures in the centre represent wrestlers and the two horsemen umpires or onlookers. Abu-l-fazl[4] relates that at the court of Akbar there were "many Persian and Turani wrestlers and boxers, clever *Mals* from Gujrat, and many other kinds of fighting men. Their pay varies from 70 to 450 *dam*. Every day two well-matched men fight with each other. Many presents are made to them on such occasions." He mentions several by name.

In general, however, the horses do not display the same vigour and are wanting in spirit and in firmness of design. This will be obvious if we compare the elephant and the horse confronting each other; the elephant full of action rushing forward with out-stretched trunk and the horse as tame and stiff as if it were made of wood. The horseman also swinging his spear lacks all expression of motion.

The dromedaries also displayed in some of the panels are but poor productions. They fail to render the characteristic shape and old-world look of the gaunt denizen of the desert. As spandrel decoration we find a dromedary with two men, preceded by a clumsy bird.

The stately Bactrian camels, on the contrary, one mounted by a mace-bearer and the other led at leash, which we notice in the same frieze on the Saman Burj, are very decorative. The animal with its grim mouth and woolly neck is excellently drawn. Less successful is the rider who sits rather stiffly in the saddle. The fighting bulls also are by no means lacking in spirit.

We have now reached the northern half of the west wall which forms part of the Saman Burj. It will be noticed that here the tilework has suffered a great deal more than on the curtain wall first described. This is evidently largely due to bad drainage, the water being allowed to flow down along the wall from the buildings above. At several places a broad grey streak along the whole height of the wall plainly marks the course of the drainage which, wherever it touched a panel of tilework, completely washed out all colour.

This portion of the west wall displays the harmony between the wall decoration and the position of the buildings above. It has five large arches of

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which the central one is placed exactly under the pierced marble screen of the Naulakha which occupies the centre of the Saman Burj. The five arches must originally have been open, but are now bricked up and provided with unsightly grated windows, the rooms behind being used for the storage of spirits. The spandrels over the large arches are splendidly decorated with winged figures in floating garments. These angels with their variegated wings spread out on both sides of the head are singularly suited for spandrel decoration and remind one of the winged figures on the triumphal arches of Imperial Rome. That they represent angels may be inferred from Moghul pictures where we find figures similarly robed administering to the wants of Ibrahim bin Adham, the royal dervish. In one instance the angel has captured a blue-coloured devil with horns and tail, his hands being tied together with a long rope. A dark-blue demon armed with club and buckler, yet of a more comic than dangerous appearance, may be seen in one of the smaller spandrels above.

Another angel holds a fan and is surrounded by winged angel-heads with caps, which are also represented in some of the smaller spandrels, where one of them holds a rosary. We may assume that there is some connection between these winged heads and the cherubs of Western art. The fan, or rather the sun-shade (Persian *sayaban* or *aftabgir)*, is mentioned by Abul Fazl[5] among the ensigns of royalty. He describes it as being "of an oval form, a yard in length, and its handle, like that of an umbrella, is covered with brocade, and ornamented with precious stones."

The spandrel over the remaining arch deserves close examination. It is badly damaged and the subject consequently not apparent at first sight. The white-spotted blue dragon is plainly visible. Over it we notice a pair of huge three-coloured wings, but it is, obvious that these cannot belong to the dragon, as they are turned the wrong way. They must belong to some other animal, the body of which has entirely disappeared. This, I believe, can have been nothing but the fabulous bird Rukh which, as Sindbad the salior tells us in the Arabian Nights, feeds on dragons. Near the dragon's head there is a confused mass of light green scrolls which I take to represent the bushy tail of the giant-bird. Its talons of the same green hue will be noticed on the back of the dragon. The snaky monster with its four feet helplessly hanging down has the exact appearance of being carried up through the air by the winged enemy at whom it seems to snap with its pointed snout.

Under the five large arches are elongated panels of which only two are partially preserved. One represents a procession : first an elephant carrying two men, a *mahaut* and a standard-bearer, then a group of foot soldiers with banners and matchlocks, followed by some horsemen of whom one makes a respectful *salam* to another riding in front of him, and finally a melancholy dog closing the train. The corresponding panel has lost nearly all colour, but the design can still be traced. It contains a group of elephants and dromedaries.

Over the arches are large rectangular panels embellished with rich geometrical mosaics. Among the smaller scenes depicted on this side of the Saman Burj we find several horsemen on prancing steeds—one attacking an elephant with his spear, another shooting arrows at a lion, clumsy and badly drawn, in whose throat and forehead two bolts are sticking.

The north-west face of the Saman Burj is the most perfect part of the pictured wall of Lahore. It is well preserved, except where injured by a drain on the left hand side, and contains three large arches of which the central one appears originally to have been an open window. The spandrels are gracefully decorated with a scroll pattern on a dark-blue background.

Beneath this arch there is one of the finest and most remarkable scenes : four horsemen playing polo. The right hand side of this beautiful panel is badly injured, even the brickwork beneath the plaster having become exposed. But as it is symmetrical, we can restore the missing portion. The goals, marked by a pair of upright slabs, are shown on both sides. The birds flying over the horsemen are evidently purely decorative, like the flowers and the foliage shown all over the panel.

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It is well-known that the noble game of polo or *chaugan*, as it is called in Persian, was not less popular in Muhammadan India than in other parts of Asia. Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, one of the earliest Moslim rulers of Hindustan was killed while playing polo at Lahore (A.D. 1210). It is also mentioned in the days of Sikandar Lodi.

Akbar is said to have been particularly fond of this game and to have even played it at night with fire balls. Abul-fazl[6] gives an account of the game as it was played in those days, but winds up by saying : "It is impossible to describe the excellency of this game. Ignorant as I am, I can say but little about it."

Even the effeminate Muhammad Shah is said in his youth to have been fond of hunting and of the sport now known as polo.[7]

Under the two side-arches we find two oblong panels, identical in design, representing a spirited group of four camels of which the two in the centre are engaged in a fierce fight, while the two others are led by attendants. This camel-fight, as will be shown beneath, is also to be classed among the entertainments of the Moghul Court.[8]

The spandrels contain angel figures not less magnificent than those on the west wall ; but here each is carrying a fan and a lamb, while a horned demon head is shown over the key of the arch. The remaining space is filled with "Chinese" clouds, such as are also found in the *pietra-dura* decoration of the Moghul palaces.

Over the arches are large rectangular panels with graceful scrolls in turquoise blue and white alternating with crimson and white flowers. Among the smaller panels we notice two yellow lions chasing deer, mounted elephants and prancing horses. On one two combatants are seen armed with sword and shield. Such gladiators *(Persian shamsher-baz)* are duly noticed by Abul-fazl[9] among the servants of the Court.

We now reach the north wall of the Saman Burj which supports the back wall of the Shish Mahal or Palace of Mirrors. Owing to the action of the water flowing down from the gutters above, the decoration on this side of the wall has suffered irreparable damage. The large arch in the centre has been bricked up and the tile-mosaics have entirely disappeared. In the spandrels they consisted evidently of scroll-work, while the oblong panel beneath, though void of all colour, still retains its design plainly marked in the plaster; a row of seven flower-vases of various shapes alternating with flower-stalks.

On a line with this panel we have two long panels, one showing an elephant-fight in which the elephants, each mounted by one *mahaut*, are evidently being urged on by footmen armed with *charkhis*. The other shows some men leading two antelopes at leash. Bernier[10] mentions tame antelopes among the animals which took part in the daily review before the Hall of Public Audience. He says that they were also made to fight each other, and that Shah Jehan used still to amuse himself with this kind of sport in his old age when he was kept a prisoner in the Agra Fort. It is related of Jehangir that he had a pet antelope called Raj, and that after its death, which took place in the second year of his reign, the Emperor ordered a monument to be raised over its remains with a life-size statue of the animal and a stone slab bearing the following inscription in Persian : "In this delightful spot an antelope was caught by the Emperor Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jehangir, which, in the space of a month, became entirely tame and was considered the best of all the royal antelopes."[11]

On this side of the Saman Burj should also be noticed eight panels, each containing two standing figures, evidently satellites of the Imperial Court. In one of these panels the first man holds fly-whisk, which from early times has been considered an emblem of royalty in India.[12] The other carries a curved sword in a scabbard. The two figures in green robes must represent Maulawis. Each of them holds a tablet with an Arabic text. One reads : "God is sufficient" and the other "God is great and victorious." On a third panel two servants carry a vase of flowers and a dish of pomegranates.

The north-east face of the Saman Burj corres-

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ponds to that on the north-west and is decorated with mosaics of the same pattern. We notice, however, that the arched recess in the centre is painted and, therefore, must have been originally closed. It is now provided with a modern window secured by means of iron bars and nettings. Instead of the elephants on the north-east wall we have here two men blowing trumpets. These are probably the instruments which used to be played in the Naqar Khanah and of which Bernier[13] gives the following description :

"C'est le lieu ou sont les Trompettes, ou plutôt les Hautbois et les Tymbales qui jouent ensemble de concert à certaines heures du jour et de la nuit; mais c'est un concert bien étrange aux oreilles d'un Européen nouveau venu qui n'y est pas encore accoutumé, car il y a quelquefois dix ou douze de ces Hautbois, et autant de Tymbales, qui donnent tout d'un coup, et il y a tel Hautbois, celuy qu'on appelle Karna, qui est long d'une brasse et demie, et qui n'a pas moins d'un pied d'ouverture par le bas, comme il y a des Tymbales de cuivre ou de fer, qui n'ont pas moins d'une brasse de diamétre; jugez delà du tintamare que cela doit faire; en verité cette Musique dans le commencement me pénétroit et m'étourdissoit tellement qu'elle m'étoit insuportable; néantmoins, je ne sais ce que ne fait point l'accoütumance; il y a déja longtemps que je la trouve trés-agreable, et la nuit principalement que je l' entens de loin dans mon lit de dessus ma terrasse, elle me semble avoir quelque chose de grave, de Majestueux, et de fort mélodieux."

From this point we start our review of the long wall which forms the north side of the palace. It is divided by four projecting octagonal towers, of which the two larger are placed at the corners of the square called Khil'at Khanah, whilst the two smaller occupy the corners of Jehangir's Quadrangle and form part of the buildings ascribed to that Emperor. On the map of the Sikh period the two large towers are called Kala Burj and Lal Burj, i.e., the Black and the Red Tower.

It will be seen that in general the tile-mosaics on the north wall of the palace are in a far less satisfactory state of preservation than those on the west wall. The portion between the Saman Burj and the first octagonal turret has five larger arches, the spandrels of which—except the central one—are decorated again with winged figures of the same type as those found on the Saman Burj. Here also is a panel with two standing figures, of which the first waves a handkerchief, whilst the second holds a large non-descript object resembling a quiver under his right arm.

On the upper portion of the wall we notice some rectangular panels with similar figures of imperial footmen, but here each panel contains only a single figure. The objects they carry are, in one instance, a well-drawn candle-stick and in the other a vase of flowers. It will be seen that such single-figured panels occur all along the north wall.

The figure with the candle-stick is of unusual interest, because it reminds us of a passage in the Ain-i-Akbri[14] which occurs in the chapter "On Illuminations."

"Every afternoon, one *ghari* before sunset, his Majesty, if on horseback, alights, or if sleeping, he is awakened. He then lays aside the splendour of royalty, and brings his external appearance in harmony with his heart. And when the sun sets, the attendants light twelve white candles, on twelve candle-sticks of gold and silver, and bring them before His Majesty, when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. His Majesty attaches the utmost importance to praise and prayer, and earnestly asks God for renewed light."

Now the "singer of sweet melodies with a candle in his hand," as shown on the picture illustrating this scene in Blochmann's translation, closely resembles the candle-bearer on the Fort wall.

Other subjects treated here with great ability are richly caparisoned horses, either led by a groom or mounted by a horseman sword in hand, who is preceded by a forerunner carrying a triangular banner. Or we find an elephant with lifted trunk on which

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two men are seated—a *mahaut* armed with his crook and a standard-bearer perched on the hind-quarters of the animal, while a footman with a *charkhi* walks in front. These scenes remind us of Bernier's[15] description of the review which daily took place before the Emperor when he sat in state in the Public Audience Hall :

Pendant une heure et demie ou environ que dure cette. Assemblée, le Roy se divertit à voir passer devant soy un certain nombre des plus beaux chevaux de ses Escuries, pour savoir s'ils sont bien traitez et en bon estat. Il fait le mesme d'un certain nombre d' Elefans qu'il fait aussi passer devant soy; leur sale et vilain corps est alors bien lavé et bien net, et peint en noir comme de l'encre, hormis qu'ils ont deux grosses rayes de peinture rouge qui du haut de la teste leur décendent vers la Trompe où elles se joignent : Ces Elefans ont aussi pour lors quelque belle couverture en broderie avec deux clochettes d'argent qui leur pendent des deux côtez, attachées aux deux bouts d'une grosse chaine d'argent qui leur passe par dessus le dos; de certaines queues de vaches du grand Tibet blanches et fort cheres qui leur pendent aux oreilles comme de grandes moustaches; et deux petits Elefans bien parez se tiennent à leurs côtez comme s'ils étoient leurs Esclaves et destinez pour les servir Ces grands Colosses comme s'ils ètoient glorieux de se voir ainsi magnifiquement ornez et accompagnez marchent gravement, et lors qu'ils sont arrivez devant le Roy, le Conducteur qui est assis sur leurs épaules avec un crochet de fer à la main, les picque, les talonne, leur parle, et leur fait incliner un genou, lever la trompe en l'air, et faire, une espece de hurlement, que le peuple prend pour un Taslim ou Salut bien censé."

The wall surface between the first and second octagonal tower—the Kala Burj and Lal Burj—is almost void of colour decoration, and whatever traces of it may have remained, are now concealed under modern plaster. Under the lower cornice, however, we notice some square panels, in which segments of dark blue and yellow have been inlaid in a raised terra-cotta frame of geometrical design. It is noteworthy that such mosaics in relief, reminding one of the old Multan tilework, are only found on the north wall of the Lahore Fort. The only figured panels are four spandrels, each containing a pair of blue cranes flying beneath the lower cornice, and above it some small spandrels with angels, cherubs and lions. It is surprising to find in a similar panel a bird which can be nothing but an ostrich. Jehangir's interest in strange animals may perhaps account for the occurrence of this long-legged denizen of South Africa on the wall of the Lahore Fort. On the top of this portion of the Fort wall we find a curious parapet of brickwork placed on both sides of the small marble pavilion and retaining remnants of tile decoration.

The second octagonal tower, the Lal Burj, which terminates this part of the wall was evidently once decorated with tiled panels up to the eaves. In the central portion there is one panel in which we can still distinguish a turquoise-coloured *mahaut* seated on the neck of a dark-blue elephant. Under the upper band there appears to have been a row of standing figures. Over the upper band the decoration consists of geometrical squares in relief of the type just described, alternating with pierced terra-cotta screens. It will be noticed that the top portion of the tower over the eaves is a modern addition.

Beyond this tower the lower portion of the wall is partly masked by the brick structure called' 'Arz-gah which, as we have seen, is built right under the Chhoti Khwabgah. On this part of the wall not a trace of colour decoration now remains, except the two horizontal bands, of which the lower one is partially hidden by the 'Arz-gah.

We have now reached the last part of the pictured wall corresponding to the Quadrangle of Jehangir above and flanked by two slim octagonal towers partly engaged in the wall. Here again we have occasion to observe the perfect harmony between the wall decoration and the position of the buildings above. The edifice occupying the centre of the river front of Jehangir's Quadrangle is the Bari Khawabgah. The wall surface beneath has five large arched panels, the spandrels of which are adorned with well-preserved faience mosaics. Those over the central arch each display a magnificent dark-blue

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dragon pursuing a white and blue goat. The movement of the serpent-shaped monster is well-expressed. Its legs are provided with little wings.

There may have been a special purpose in giving the dragon such a prominent place under the Imperial Bed-chamber. This may be inferred from Bernier's description of the insignia[16] :

"Devant eux [les Manseb-dars] marche pompeusement ce qu'on appelle le Kours; ce sont plusieurs figures d'argent, portées sur le bout de certains gros bàtons d'argent fort beaux et fort bien travaillez; dont il y en a deux qui representent deux grand poissons; deux autres qui representent un Animal fantastique d'horrible figure qu'ils apellent Eiedeha; d'autres qui representent deux Lions, d'autres deux Mains, d'autres des Balances, et ainsi je ne sais combien d'autres figures dont ils font leurs Mystères."

The word *eiedeha* exactly renders the Indian pronunciation of the Persian *azhdahah* ("a dragon")—a compound, of which the first member is derived from Zend *azhi*. corresponding to Sanskrit *ahi*. The dragon appears, therefore, to have been known in Iran in a very remote age and its occurrence in Gandhara sculptures is probably due to Iranian influence. Usually we associate this animal with China, and it is quite possible that the dragon under Jehangir's bed-room is a direct descendant of the imperial dragon of Pekin.

The spandrels over the two adjoining arches are decorated with angels on both sides similar in design, but executed in different colours. Each angel is preceded by a flying bird and holds a flask and a cup. Whether this flask is supposed to contain sweet sherbet or some beverage of a stronger sort, it is impossible to decide. But we notice that the flask is badly drawn and that in general this cup-bearing angel of clumsy appearance is very inferior to the truly angelic forms which adorn the walls of the Saman Burj.

The spandrels of the remaining two arched panels exhibit a floral design [which is reproduced here on account of the excellence of its colouring].

Under the dragons there are two rectangular panels each with a standing figure of a satellite carrying a fly-whisk and a handkerchief (Persian *rumal*).

The remaining portion of the wall is divided into larger and smaller recessed panels, arched or rectangular, on which but little colour is left. We may assume that the north wall also originally bore fresco decoration in addition to the tilework, but no trace of it now remains. Among the faience mosaics we find small spandrels with cherubs or various animals—elephants, horses, lions, pheasants (?) and herons and rectangular panels with richly caparisoned elephants, clearly delineated but unfortunately considerably injured. One is mounted by a *mahaut* making a *salam*. Another panel, showing an antelope (black buck) led at leash by a man, has also suffered a great deal. We have noted the same subject on the Saman Burj.

Some of the larger arched recesses contain rectangular sunk panels, in which we find standing figures of imperial attendants of the same type as noticed on other parts of the wall. One of them is soldier clad in the ample robe of the Moghul period and carrying a match-lock. In another we may perhaps recognize a Farangi—i.e., an European soldier—in the service of the Great-Moghul, on account of his peculiar costume : a short jacket, wide trousers and a hat with feather. There are two more such figures which are distinguished by a peculiar dress probably meant to indicate a distinct nationalty; but I am unable to identify them.

Adjoining the western tower there is a panel which deserves special notice on account of its uncommon subject. It represents the goat and monkey man, a figure familiar to any one who has lived in India. It is true that the monkey, partly owing to his costume and partly to his colour, is difficult to recognize, but his companion, the goat, being balanced by his master on a series of green spool-shaped supports, is so briskly and naturally drawn as to explain the well-known scene at once. It is not a little curious to find thus a popular element introduced into this truly imperial art.

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To complete our review, we must call attention to the slim octagonal turrets placed at the ends of Jehangir's Quadrangle. The one on the west side is half engaged in the wall and that to the east for one quarter. The latter affords consequently more space for decoration. The rectangular panels with standing figures found on and adjoining the eastern tower are of the same kind as have already been described. So are the geometrical relief-panels on the lower portion of the wall. Beneath the upper decorative band both towers are corbelled out, and it is here that we find a series of roughly quadrant-shaped panels containing seated figures alternately turned to the right and to the left. The western turret has eight such panels and the eastern one ten.[17] Of these ten, one has been left unreproduced, as it is identical with the *hukka* smoker. On the whole, these seated figures are very uniform and only a few have any individuality, such as the baker, the writer and the drummer. Particularly interesting are the two cup-bearers, as they remind us of the curious coin on which Jehangir stoutly struck his own effigy holding in his right hand the forbidden cup.

1. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, pp. 504 ff; Cf. Honigberger, Thirty-five years in the East (London 1852), Vol. I, pp. 117 and 120.
2. Bernier, *Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 63 (Constable's ed. p. 277).
3. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 127.
4. *Ibidem* Vol. I, p. 233.
5. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), p. 50; plate IX, fig. 3.
6. *Ain-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann), p. 143.
7. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, p. 219.
8. *Ain-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann), p. 143.
9. *Ibidem* p. 252.
10. Bernier, *Voyages*, Vol. I, p. 220 and II, p. 42. Constable's edition pp. 166 and 262.
11. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 802, f; Latif, *Lahore*, p. 45.
12. The word chauri (vulgo *chowrie*) is derived from Sanskrit chamara *which is a derivation from* chamara meaning "a Yak" (bos grunniens). The fly-whisk is made of the tail of this animal.
13. Bernier, *Voyages*, Vol. II., pp. 38 f. Constable's edition p. 260. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann) pp. 50 f. and pp. 611 f.
14. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 49.
15. *Voyages*, Vol. II, pp. 41 ff. Constable's edition pp. 261 f.
16. *Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 49, Constable's edition pp. 266 f.
17. There appears to have been one more which is now entirely covered with plaster.

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Appendix C

District-Wise List of Edifices with Extant Wall-Paintings

N.B. : For an explanation of the order followed below, please see page 23 of Chapter II— "Extant Remains of Wall-Paintings."

I. DISTRICT AMRITSAR

1. *Akhara* Bala Nand, Amritsar.
2. The old *Haveli* of Sandhanwalia Sardars at Raja Sansi.
3. *Gurudwara* Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, a village near Tarn Taran.
4. Shri Palkiana Sahib, a temple at Jaura, a village on the Tarn Taran-Patti road.
5. Baba Atal, Amritsar.
6. *Samadh* of Mahant Mangni Ram, Amritsar.
7. Shri Raghunath temple, Amritsar.
8. Shri Akal Takhat, Amritsar.
9. The Golden Temple, Amritsar.
10. *Akhara* Sangal Wala, Amritsar.
11. *Samadh* Baba Khuda Singh at Naurangabad, a village near Tarn Taran.
12. Temple Samerian, Amritsar.
13. The *Shivala* of Hardhan at Matewal, a village on the Amritsar-Mehta road.
14. The *Thakurdwara* of Daryana Mal, Amritsar.
15. *Samadh* of Sardar Lal Singh at Kale Ghanupur, a village near Guru Nanak Dev University Campus at Amritsar.
16. Temple of Maiya Nath, Amritsar.
17. *Thakurdwara* Bairagian at Attari.
18. *Akhara* Beri Wala, Amritsar.
19. *Akhara* Kashi Wala, Amritsar.
20. *Gurudwara* at Cholla Sahib, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
21. The *Langarkhana* at Cholla Sahib, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
22. The *Samadh* of *Sardars* Peshaura Singh and Bagh Singh at Manhala Jai Singh, a village near Patti.
23. *Gurudwara* Baba Bir Singh at Raja Sansi.

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24. A *Samadh* at Fatehabad, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
25. *Gurudwara* Angitha Sahib at Khadur Sahib, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
26. *Khangah* Dargahi Shah at Dhun Dhaewal, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
27. Darbar Sahib at Tarn Taran.
28. *Bunga* of the Kamboj *biradari* at Tarn Taran.
29. *Bunga* of village Sathiala at Tarn Taran.
30. Darbar Baba Buddha Sahib at Ramdas, a town on the Amritsar-Dera Baba Nanak road.
31. *Gurudwara* Bauli Sahib at Goindwal.
32. *Samadh* of Baba Hari Gir at Patti.
33. *Gurudwara* of Shri Hargobind Sahib at Manhala Jai Singh, a village near Patti.
34. The shrine known as *Baba Sher Shah da Darbar* at Ghariala, a village near Patti.

II. DISTRICT GURDASPUR

35. The temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala.
36. The *Dera* of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur, a village on the Batala-Dera Baba Nanak road.
37. Damthal Monastery near Pathankot (now in Himachal Pradesh).
38. Raghunath temple at Pindori Mahantan, a village near Gurdaspur.
39. The temple of Raja Sahib Dayal at Kishankot, a village located near Sri Hargobindpur.
40. *Gurudwara* Darbar Sahib at Dera Baba Nanak.
41. Bhandari Bhola temple at Batala.
42. The temple of Maharani Chand Kaur at Fategarh Churian.
43. The temple of Shri Nam Dev at Ghoman, a village located in the Batala sub-division.
44. The *Gurudwara* of Satkartarian at Sri Hargobindpur.
45. A Shiva temple at Achal Batala, a village near Batala.
46. The Shrine of Baba Buddha Ji at Teja, a village in the Batala sub-division.
47. The *Shivala* of Lala Duni Chand at Dhepai, a village in the Batala sub-division.
48. The temple known as *Pheru Shah da Mandir* at Batala.
49. The temple of Radha Krishna at Bhambari, a village in the Batala sub-division.
50. *Gurudwara* Baba Sri Chand at Jaurian Khurd, a village in the Batala sub-division.
51. *Langar* Sri Chola Sahib at Dera Baba Nanak.
52. The house of Lala Ayodhya Nath at Dhepai, a village in the Batala sub-division.
53. The temple at Chandu Nangal, a village in the Batala sub-division.
54. *Samadh* of Baba Mahesh Das at Pindori Mahantan, a village near Gurdaspur.

III. DISTRICT HOSHIARPUR

55. The *Gurudwara* of Baba Kala Dhari at Una (now in Himachal Pradesh).
56. The Bairagi *Thakurdwara* at Ram Tatwali, a village near Dholbaha.
57. The *Samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda.
58. The house of Shri Kundan Lal Suniara at Dasuya.
59. The *Samadh* of the Rani of Jind at Bahadurgarh, a suburb of Hoshiarpur.
60. The temple at Jandwal, a village on the Jullundur-Pathankot road.
61. The *Samadh* of the daughter of Mai Hiran at Bhunga, a village on the Hoshiarpur-Dasuya road.
62. The *Shivala* of Buta Ram at Gardhiwala.
63. The *Samadh* of Baba Charn Shah at Bahadurgarh, a suburb of Hoshiarpur.
64. *Gurudwara* Shri Hajur Baba Sahib Singh Ji Bedi at Una (now in Himachal Pradesh).
65. The Shiva temple known as *Bhalian da Mandir* at Bajwara, a village near Hoshiarpur.
66. A Shiva temple at Bhunga, a village on the Hoshiarpur-Dasuya road.

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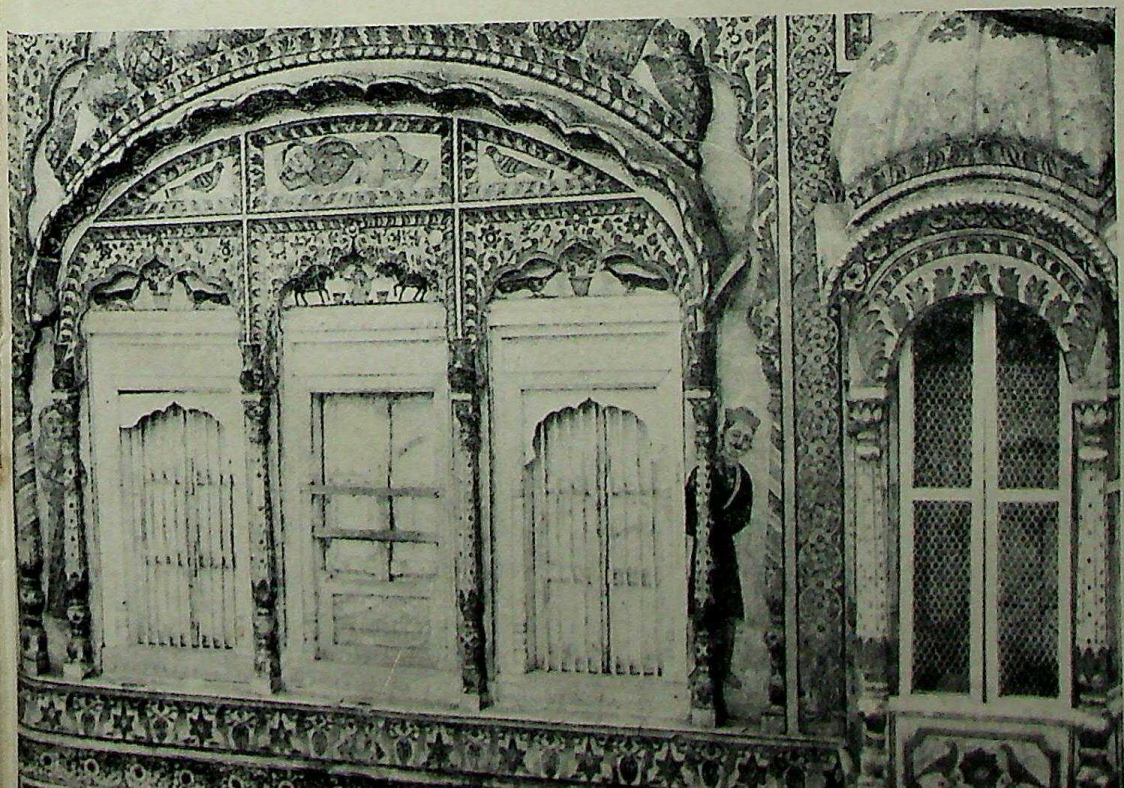
One of the interior views of the **Samadh** *of Lala Jamuna Das* at *Jagadhri, district Ambala.*

43. **Samadhs** of common ancestors or traditionally venerated elders were everywhere in Punjab and Haryana and these were often embellished with murals mostly depicting the virtuous deeds of the departed soul. This panel, from the **Samadh** of Lala Jamuna Das at Jagadhri, depicts the memorial representation of Rami Devi, the consort of Jamuna Das, taking both the pictorial as well as sculptural form.

A frescoed part of a **haveli** *from Jagadhri, district Ambala.*



44. Families of means in feudal India had the tradition of constructing **havelis** which served as fortified homes. It often used to be a surrounded or an enclosed place that suited best to the rigid lifestyle of a society that segregated its men from its women. Masons worked for years in the construction of the **havelis** in brick and lime and muralists were commissioned to odorn the facades, gateways, courtyard walls, parapets and ceilings, the greatest attention being given to the embellishments of the gateway—the portion flanking the wooden door and the vaulted structure above it. The murals then were the symbols of social status.

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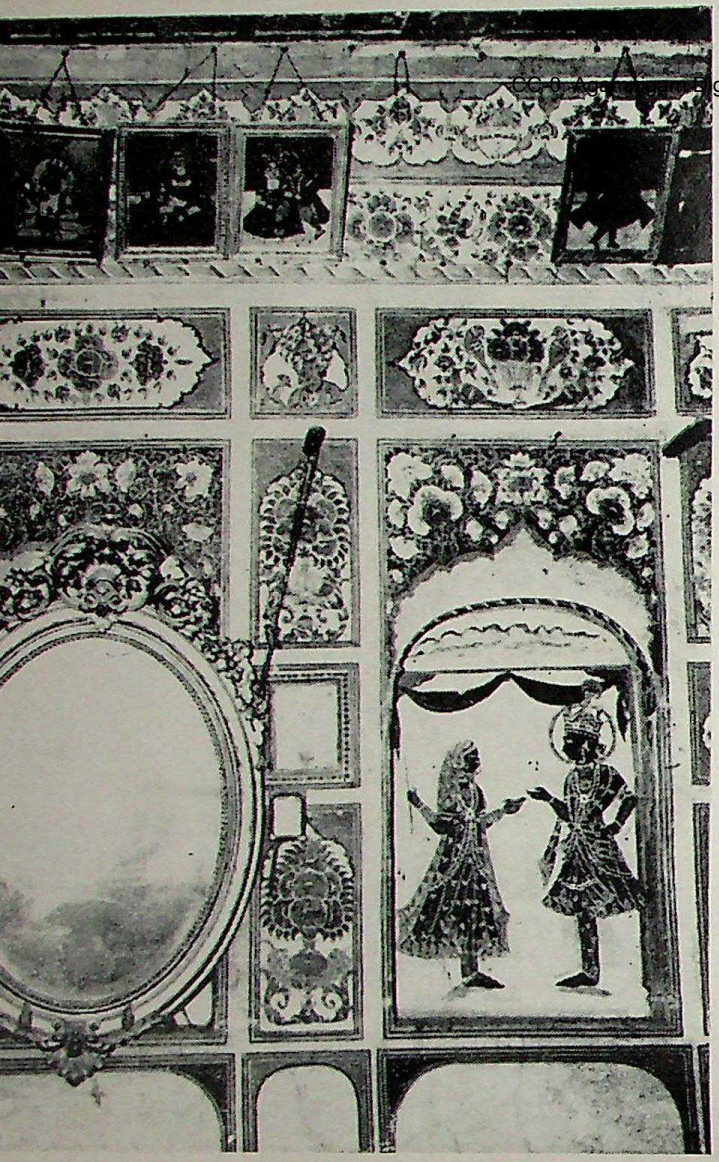
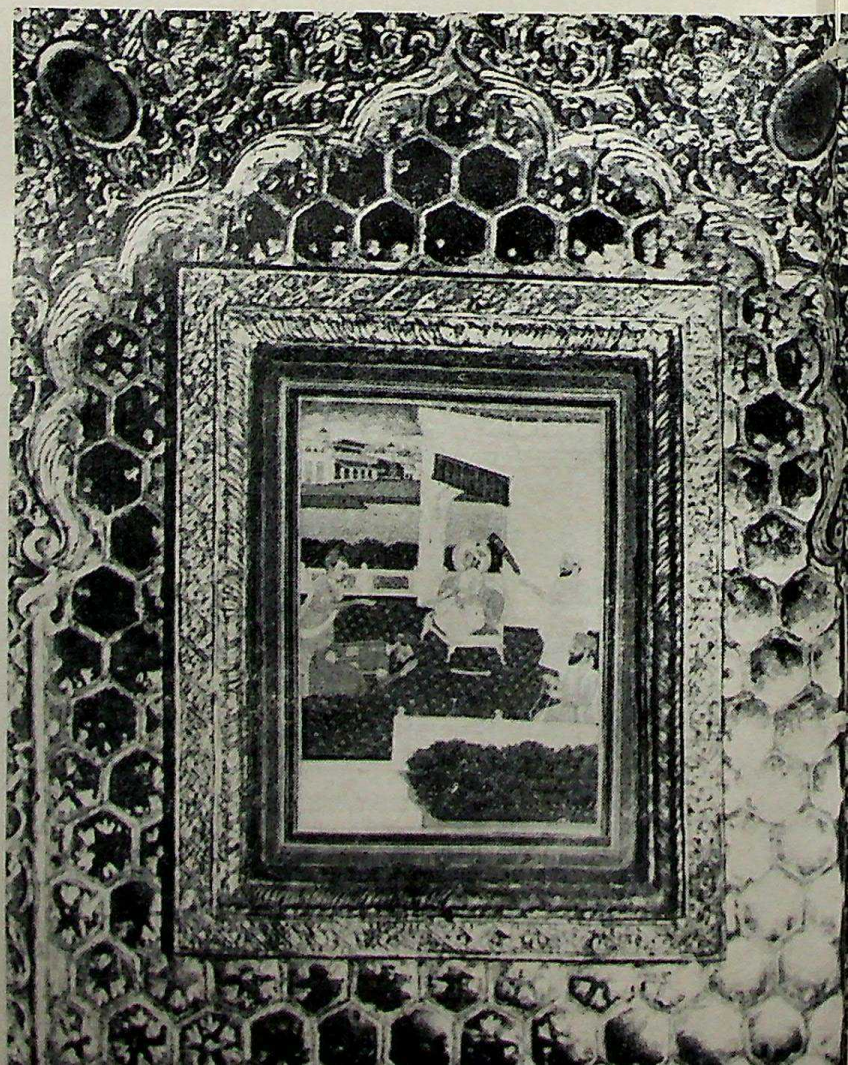


Mural panel from the **haveli** *of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda at Ferozepur City.*

45. The three storeyed **haveli** of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda at Ferozepur City was originally completely covered with murals. At present, however, a few paintings survive in one of its rooms on the top floor, a part of which is shown here. One of the panels represents Radha and Krishna, and the other parts, divided into vertical and horizontal panels, are embellished with floral designs. An oval looking glass affixed on the painted wall imparts the room a typical traditional character. The framed pictures skirting the ceiling are paintings done on glass.

Mural panel from the Gurudwara of the 9th Guru at Bahadurgarh, district Patiala.



46. The mirror work that borders the painting in this panel involved a coating of a fine plaster composed of perfectly slaked lime, ground shell and pulverized marble meal. Before it set, it allowed inlaying of glass and mirror to form colourful patterns. The small convex mirriors to be inlaid into the walls were produced from thin glass polished with mercury. The painting, depicting Guru Har Kishan, the eighth Guru, is a miniature, inserted into the wall and framed into glass.

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Fresco panel from **Rangmahal** *at Buria, district Ambala.*

47. The sense of rhythm, combined with the sense of geometry, is to be seen in arabesques on all Mohammedan monuments as a common language of Islamic art. In the words of Titus Burckhardt : "In its more stylized versions, an arabesque in plant forms bears no more than a distant likeness to a plant. But it does represent a perfect transcriptions of the laws of rhythm into visual terms. Its unfolding is continuous, like a wave, with contrasting phases having various degrees of resonance. The design does not need to be symmetrical, but, to make up for this, it always has certain repetitions, whose rhythmic character is accentuated by the fact that the sounds and the silences are aesthetically equivalent."

48. While brick walls provide base for mural embellishments, the mud-walls of the peasant houses in villages serve to be decorated in bas-relief—the creative expressions of the peasant community endeavouring to bring grace and colour in life. The forms and textures of work spontaneously assume various shapes among naive people and transform plastic material into more than what they are before being metamorphosed by their hand and heart.

This panel, with its naive simplicity, have its own beauty, much more than an aesthetic experience that is often viewed synonymous with decoration.

Mud-wall decoration of a village house from district Ferozepur.

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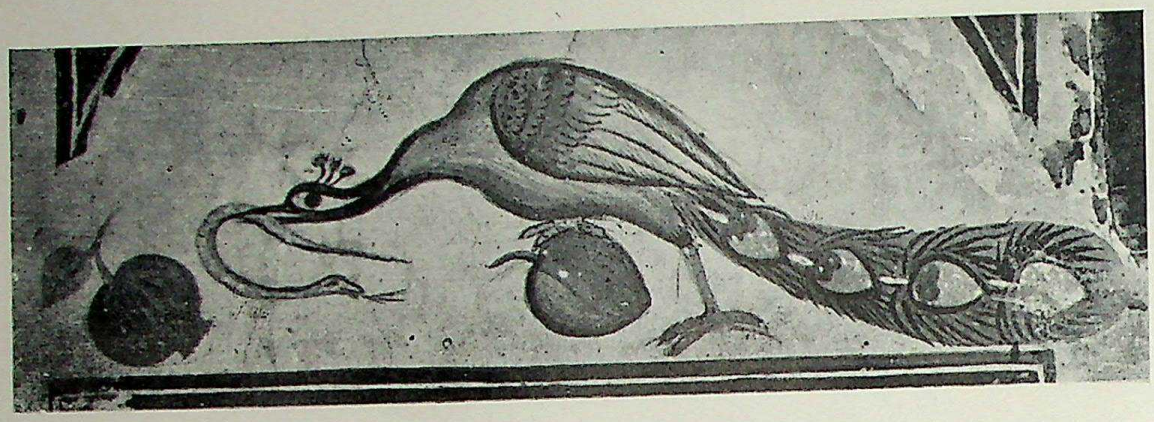

Mural panel from Gurudwara of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, district Amritsar.

49. The figures and other pictorial elements were so composed as to fit neatly into the space available for painting. The effort to utilize the available space in the best possible way often led the painters to chose a theme which, in its graphic representation, would adapt well to the shape and size of the surface to be embellished. The result often was the juxtaposition of divergent themes, without any integral relationship. This is how, in the running chain of narrative themes, there appears, quite unexpectedly, sometimes, a representation of a bird or an animal entirely unrelated to the subjects illustrated. This elagant figure of a peacock catching a snake may be cited as a representative example of a graphic shape composed to adjust to a horizontally elongated space.

Mural panel from the **samadh** *of Bibi Bhani at Kartarpur, district Jullundur.*

50. Among the more interesting of the murals, from the point of view of theme, interesting because innovative, are paintings of genre themes. Among the murals, unexpectedly we find, thus, craftsmen such as goldsmiths, ironsmiths, carpenters and cobblers at work. This panel illustrates a cotton-printer from Kartarpur, not far off from Sultanpur, one of the popular centres of calico-printing in the 19th century Punjab. Sikh wood-carvers of Kartarpur were experts in making wooden blocks used in cotton printing.

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Fresco panel from Fort Manimajra, near Chandigarh.

51. One of the most widely painted themes which almost developed into a decotaitive motif in wall-paintings, was the representation of soldiers in various forms. As the British extended their power, visited Indian courts and established Residencies, they came into contact with Indian rulers. With the proclamation of protection to cis-Sutlej States, in 1809, against the Lahore power, their chiefs were confirmed as feudal princes by the British. Consequently British influence considerably increased at all levels in this region and its reflections are also evident in the paintings of the time. Here is a parade of Red Coats with musicians leading the infantry.

Mural panel from the **samadh** *of Baba Mohar Singh.*

52. Nihang Singhs form an interesting theme in the mural paintings of the 19th century Punjab. They are a class of Sikh devotees who are distinguished conspicuously by their dark blue dress, peaked turban, often surmounted with steel quoits. They are always armed in a profuse manner, some of them with half a dozen swords on them and their horses and as many other arms including a long glittering spear. As seen in this painting, they are mostly depicted as **dvarapalas** or guards with drawn swords.

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Fresco panel from Shri Palkiana Sahib, a temple near Jaura, a village in district Amritsar.

53. Among the secular themes relating to women are the romantic tales of Punjab—Heer Ranjha, Mirza Sahiban, Sohni Mahiwal, Sassi Punnu, Laila Majnu, Raja Rasalu—which found their way on tha walls of many an edifice. Here is a theme from the famous Mirza Sahiban romance of Punjab, showing Mirza being killed by Sahiban's brothers. Mirza after eloping Sahiban is asleep under a tree with his arms stuck on it, while his love sits by his side and his horse stands by. Sahiban's four brothers chase them on horses, overtake Mirza while asleep and dart arrows to kill him.

Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala.

54. A *Sringara* theme based on the verses of *Sat Sai* of Bihari. The dramatist persona in these poems are Radha and Krishna, who are the *Nayika* and *Nayaka*. In this panel, despite *Nayika's* having made all arrangements to ensure privacy for taking bath, the *Nayaka* turns up from an unexpected direction. The fresco has a striking semblance with a miniature reproduced in plate XI of M.S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai, 1966.*

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55 & 56. The visual depiction of musical modes are known as *raqamala*, necklace of raga, paintings and this theme was painted in a fairly large number in murals. Here, as in miniatures, attempt was made to give musical form a more precise impression through paintings. 'It is believed that each *raga* or *ragini* has a sound body symbolized by a god, goddess or beautiful women.' While *ragas* are often depicted as male figures doing heroic feats, *raginis* are female figures expressing sentiments of love. The theme also became intertwined with the *nayik-nayika* theme, thus resulting into paintings that could be depictions of either.

55

56

Both of these mural panels from the fort of Manimajra, near Chandigarh, depicts the pictorial versions of Bhilval and Sarang raginis. *Written characters in* Gumurukhi *give the names of the* raginis *illustrated.*

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Fresco panel from Shish Mahal, Patiala.

57. The painters often found occasion to illustrate poetry by representing Krishna as *Nayaka* and Radha as *Nayika.* The most representative of this kind of work appears in Shish Mahal at Patiala in panels that illustrate verses from the *Sat Sai* of Bihari and the *Rasikapriya* of Keshavadas. These paintings, relating to *sringara* themes, were very appropriate for the *mahal* meant which was primarily for the ladies.

Perhaps no painter can free himself from the physical sensations which the appearance of a woman releases in him. In these frescoes, however, the elastic and versatile concept of beauty is very well takan, for nowhere in these paintings is there the slightest hint of vulgarity.

In this panel the *Nayika's* companion conveys to her the *Nayaka's* appreciation of the beauty of her hair :

'My heart is so entangled in her lustrous black and fragrant tresses
That no longer can it distinguish between right and wrong. (From Bihari's *Sat Sai*)

This fresco has a striking semblance with a miniature reproduced in fig. 2 of M.S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai,* 1966.

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67. The temple of Rajni Devi at Leli Khurd, a village about twelve miles south-east of Hoshiarpur.
68. The Shiva temple known as *Kahtarian da Mandir* at Bajwara, a village near Hoshiarpur.
69. *Samadh* of Sardar Baghel Singh at Haryana.
70. The temple known as *Ahluwalian da Mandir* at Basi Kalan, a village located few miles south-east of Hoshiarpur.
71. A temple built in V.S. 1888 (=1831 A.D.) at Dadyana, a village near Haryana.
72. The house of Shri Anant Ram at Tanda.

IV. DISTRICT JULLUNDUR

73. The *Thakurdwara* of Lala Chuhr Mal at Nakodar.
74. The temple of Baba Hari Har at Nur Mahal.
75. *Dera* Udasian at Jamsher, a village located few miles south of Jullundur.
76. The *Samadh* of Tara Singh Gheba at Rahon, near Nawanshahar.
77. The *Samadh* of Bibi Bhani at Kartarpur.
78. The temple of Shiva at Lasara, a village on the Ludhiana-Nawanshahar road.
79. The *Gurudwara* of Shri Baba Mati Shahid at Daroli Kalan, a village near Adampur.
80. The *Baradari* at Kartarpur.
81. The temple of Misr Bhup Chand at Nur Mahal.
82. The *Devi Dwara* at Nawanshahar.
83. *Gurudwara* Thamb Sahib at Kartarpur.
84. *Deorhi* of the *Gurudwara* at Sangh Dhesian, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.
85. *Gurudwara* Gang Sar at Kartarpur.
86. The temple of Gosains at Alawalpur.
87. The Shiva temple of Lala Bhagat Ram at Alawalpur.
88. The temple known as *Sayalian da Mandir* at Bilga, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.
89. The temple known as *Banna Mal da Shivala* at Nawanshahar.
90. A Shiva temple at Garhi, a village on the Nawanshahar-Ropar road.
91. *Dera* Baba Dhyan Das at Samrae, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.

V. DISTRICT KAPURTHALA

92. The Shiva temple at Shekhupur, a village on the Kapurthala-Sultanpur road.
93. The *Jalao Khana* at Kapurthala.
94. *Gurudwara* Sri Guru Ka Bagh at Sultanpur Lodhi.

VI. DISTRICT FEROZEPUR

95. The *Haveli* of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda, Ferozepur City.
96. The Jain Svetambara Temple at Zira.
97. The *Serai* at Zira.
98. The *Samadh* of Baba Man Singh at Sodhiwala, a village in the Zira sub-division.
99. The *Haveli* of Badhwaran, Ferozepur City.
100. The Digambara Jain *Panchayati Mandir* at Ferozepur Cantt.
101. The *Samadh* of Lala Telu Mall, Ferozepur City.
102. The Devi Temple near Bansi Wala Gate at Ferozepur City.

VII. DISTRICT FARIDKOT

103. *Gurudwara* Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai.
104. The *Mari* of Baba Sidh at Mari, a village located in the Moga sub-division.
105. *Gurudwara* Lohgarh Sahib at Dina, a village located in the Moga sub-division.
106. *Gurudwara* Gurusar at Bargarhi, a village on the Faridkot-Bhatinda road.
107. The *Samadh* of Bishan Singh Sodhi at Buttar, a village in the Moga sub-division.
108. The *Shish Mahal* in Faridkot Fort.
109. *Samadh* of Sardul Singh in Dera Kashi Puri at Daroli, a village on the Ferozepur-Moga road.

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110. *Gurudwara* associated with Guru Gobind Singh at Gurusar, a village near Kot Kapura.
111. A Shiva temple at Kot Isa Khan.
112. The *Haveli* of Maghi Mal at Langiana Nawan, a village near Baghapurana.
113. Shrine of Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, a few miles west of Baghapurana.
114. *Samadh* of Baba Ram Das in *Dera* Chappa Tibba at Seda Singh Wala, a village near Jaito.
115. *Dera* Mehma Sahi at Panjgraian Kalan, near Kot Kapura.

VIII. DISTRICT LUDHIANA

116. The *Samadh* of Baba Mohar Singh near Lopon, a village near Doraha Mandi.
117. A Mohammedan Tomb at Aandlu, a village located in the Jagraon sub-division.
118. The Devi Durga *Mandir* at Payal.
119. *Das Nam Ka Akhara* at Payal.
120. A Shiva temple at Khanpur, a village near Khanna.
121. *Samadhs* of the *Sardars* of Khamanon at Khamanon, a village on the Chandigarh-Ludhiana road.
122. The *Mari* of Guga at Bhari, a village near Khanna.
123. *Gurudwara* Gurusar at Lallan, a village near Samrala.

IX. DISTRICT SANGRUR

124. The *Samadh* of Baba Dyal Das at Barnala.
125. The *Haveli* of Shri Onkar Nath at Hadiaya, a village near Barnala.
126. The temple of Mai Rajji at Hadiaya, a village near Barnala.
127. The *Samadhs* of Babas Sarb Sukh, Sarb Dyal, Gopal Das and Bhagwan Das at Jandali, a village in the Malerkotla sub-division.
128. The *Thakurdwara* at Bagarian, a village on the Nabha-Malerkotla road.
129. The monastery known as *Dera Udasian* at Ladda, a village near Dhuri.
130. *Gurudwara* Chullha Sahib at Longowal.
131. *Samadhs* of the *Sardars* of Bagarian at Bagarian, a village on the Nabha-Malerkotla road.
132. The Shiv temple known as *Nanu Ka Mandir* at Bhadaur.
133. *Samadh* of Jai Gopal in the *Dera* of Atma Ram, near Malerkotla.
134. The temple of Shri Ram Chandra at Barbar, a village on the Sangrur-Barnala road.
135. *Samadh* of Maharaja Jai Bhag Singh at Sangrur.
136. *Samadh* of Baba Nikka Singh at Barnala.

X. DISTRICT BHATINDA

137. The *Samadh* of Bhai Guddar Singh and Mai Rajji at Dyalpura, a village on the Barnala–Jaito road.
138. The temple of Kalu Nath at Nathana, a village situated a few miles north-east of Bhatinda.
139. The *Samadh* at Talwandi Sabo.
140. *Samadh* of Jogi Pir between villages Ralla and Bhopalan in the Mansa sub-division.

XI. DISTRICT PATIALA

141. *Shish Mahal* at Patiala.
142. The Rani *Mahal* at Nabha.
143. *Diwankhana Kadim* at Patiala.
144. The *Samadh* of Raja Jaswant Singh at Nabha.
145. The Nirankari *Dera* at Patiala.
146. The temple of Bhuri Mai at Patiala.
147. The Shiv Puri temple at Patiala.
148. The temple known as *Bara Mandir* at Bhadson, a village in the Nabha sub-division.
149. A Shiva temple in the monastery known as *Akhara Girian*, at Sirhand.

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150. *Samadh* of Sukh Prakash at Chintanwali, a village located a few miles west of Nabha.
151. The temple of Shri Badri Narayan at Bahadurgarh.

XII. DISTRICT ROPAR

152. A Shiva temple at Sohana, a village in the Kharar sub-division.
153. *Samadh* of the *Sardar* of Ladwa at Durali, a village in the Kharar sub-division.

XIII. DISTRICT AMBALA

154. The *Samadhs* of Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das at Yamunanagar.
155. The Rajewala Temple at Yamunanagar.
156. The Digambara Jain *Mandir* at Sadhaura.
157. The *Qila* Mubarak at Chhachhrauli.
158. The Shiva temple known as *Dhara Mandir* at Panjaur.
159. The Jain Shvetambera temple at Ambala City.
160. The temple of Mai Ambe at Ambala City.
161. The temple of Shri Gauri Shankar at Jagadhri.
162. The *Diwankhana* at Chhachhrauli.
163. The *Haveli* of Lala Krishan Chand at Jagadhri.

XIV. DISTRICT KURUKSHETRA

164. Bhadra-Kali *Mandir* at Kurukshetra.
165. The temple of Bawa Sharwan Nath at Pehowa.
166. The temple of Shri Ram Padha at Kaul, a village on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road.
167. The *Haveli* of Rani Chand Kaur at Pehowa.
168. The temple of Shri Lakshmi Narayan at Kaul, a village on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road.
169. A Shiva temple adjoining *Sukra-kund* at Kaithal.
170. The temple of Shri Sthaneshwara Mahadeva at Thanesar.
171. The *Dera* of Bawa Sharwan Nath at Kurukshetra.
172. A Shiva temple in the area known as Pranchian at Pehowa.
173. The Dera of Baba Darbar Puri at Ramthali, a village near Guhla.
174. *Gurudwara* of Guru Teg Bahadur at Bani Badarpur near Ladwa.

XV. DISTRICT KARNAL

175. *Shivala* Ek Onkar near Nighdu, a village on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road.
176. The *Samadh* of Baba Mohini at Barota, a village located a few miles south-west of Karnal.
177. The Shiva temple in the *Akhara* of Baba Sehijgir at Karnal.
178. The Shiva temple at Patti Kalyana, a village near Panipat.
179. The temple known as *Mandir Nihal Wala* at Karnal.
180. The Gangaji temple at Panipat.

XVI. DISTRICT SONIPAT

181. The *Chopal* at Jakholi, a village near Sonipat.
182. The temple known as *Panchayati Mandir* at Murthal, near Sonipat.
183. The *paras* of *panna* Khurd at Bas, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
184. The *Haveli* of Shri Dhanpat Rai at Bas, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
185. The house of Shri Baru Mal at Sulchini, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
186. The *paras* of *panna* Thela at Narnaund, a village in the Hansi sub-division.

XVII. DISTRICT BHIWANI

187. The *Diwankhana* of Chandar Sain at Dadri.
188. The *Haveli* of Banarsi Das Mahajan at Dadri.

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189. The *Haveli* of Chaudhuri Ramrik Singh at Loharu Jatu, a village on the Bhiwani-Hansi road.

190. The Ganga *Mandir* at Bhiwani.

191. The house of Shri Kidar Nath Bhagoti Prashad Aggarwal, *Mohalla* Bhutan, at Bhiwani.

XVIII. THE UNION TERRITORY OF CHANDIGARH

192. The temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra.

193. The Manimajra Fort.

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Appendix D

Chronology of the Major Princely States of The Punjab in the 19th Century

State and Name of the Ruler	*Period*
1	2
PUNJAB (WITH ITS CAPITAL AT LAHORE)	
Maharaja Ranjit Singh	1801-1839
Maharaja Kharak Singh	1839-1840
Maharaja Nau Nihal Singh	1840-1840
Maharaja Sher Singh	1841-1843
Maharaja Dalip Singh	1843-1849
PATIALA STATE	
Raja Sahib Singh	1779-1813
Maharaja Karm Singh	1813-1845
Maharaja Narendera Singh	1846-1862
Maharaja Mahendra Singh	1862-1876
Maharaja Rajinder Singh	1877-1900
NABHA STATE	
Raja Jaswant Singh	1783-1840
Raja Devinder Singh	1840-1846
Raja Bharpur Singh	1847-1863
Raja Bhagwan Singh	1864-1871
Maharaja Hira Singh	1871-1911
JIND STATE	
Raja Bhag Singh	1789-1819
Raja Fateh Singh	1819-1822
Raja Sangat Singh	1822-1834
Raja Sarup Singh	1837-1864
Raja Raghubir Singh	1864-1887
Maharaja Ranbir Singh	1887-1948
KAPURTHALA STATE	
Raja Bhag Singh	1783-1801
Raja Fateh Singh	1801-1836
Raja Nihal Singh	1836-1852
Raja Randhir Singh	1852-1870
Raja Kharak Singh	1870-1877
Maharaja Jagtjit Singh	1877-1949
FARIDKOT STATE	
Raja Pahar Singh	1827-1849
Raja Vazeer Singh	1849-1874
Raja Bikram Singh	1874-1898
Raja Balbir Singh	1898-1906

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Section C : List of persons interviewed

Sh. Amar Singh of Village Mari, district Faridkot.

,, Atma Singh of Amritsar.

,, Babu Ram Sharma of Kurukshetra.

,, Bihari Das of Nur Mahal, district Jullundur.

,, Chander Prashad, Mahant, of Amritsar.

Dr. Ganda Singh of Patiala.

Sh. Gaura Singh, Mistri, of Faridkot.

,, Gurdev Mall of Shri Hargobindpur, district Gurdaspur.

,, Gur Narain of village Jamsher, district Jullundur.

,, Harcharan Singh, Sarpanch, of village Manahala Jai Singh, district Amritsar.

,, Harinder Singh, Ex-Maharaja of Faridkot.

,, Inder Kumar Sharda of Ferozepur City.

,, Jagdish Das, Mahant, of Bahadurgarh, district Hoshiarpur.

,, Jit Singh, Granthi, of Khadur Sahib, district Amritsar.

,, Kishori Lal of Fategarh Churian, district Gurdaspur.

,, Makhan Singh, Granthi, of Naurangabad, district Amritsar.

,, Nam Dev of Amritsar.

,, Narbada Nand, Mahant, of Amritsar.

,, Narinderjit Singh of village Kale Ghanupur, district Amritsar.

,, Pariharan Singh of village Kishankot, district Gurdaspur.

,, Pritam Das of Achal Batala, district Gurdaspur.

,, Raghubir Singh of village Bhador, district Sangrur.

,, Ram Das, Mahant, of Damthal, near Pathankot.

,, Ram Das, Swami, of Attari, district Amritsar.

,, Ram Saran Das of Amritsar.

,, Santa Singh of village Matewal, district Amritsar.

,, Satyapal Jain of Zira, district Ferozepur.

,, Sohan Lal of Patiala.

,, Sunder Singh, Granthi, of village Cholla Sahib, district Amritsar.

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Glossary

akhara	camp of saints.
amavasya	date of new moon.
ardhnarisvara	half-male, half female form of Shiva.
avatara	incarnation of god Vishnu.
ayudhas	weapons, symbols in hands of deities.
bahi	a ledger, account book.
bairagi	a recluse.
baithak	drawing room.
bani	sacred hymns of the Sikhs.
bania	trader.
baradari	twelve pillared portico or pavilion.
bara-masa	twelve months.
begar	unpaid forced labour.
bhakta	a devotee or exponent of *bhakti*.
bhala	spear, lance.
bhang	the intoxicating hemp (cannabis Indica).
bunga	place of habitation, house.
chath	house-warming ceremony.
chatur-mukh	four-faced.
chauri	fly-whisk, yak hair or peacock feather fan waved over Guru Granth Sahib.
chhatri	kiosks, or small pavilions, acting as turrets on the roof.
chitera	painter.
chobdar	a mace bearer, a gate-keeper.
chopal	a house for pilgrims, inn.
chunam	lime.
dalan	hall chamber.
dargah	designation of a Muslim shrine or tomb of note.
deorhi	chamber, porch.
dera	camp.
devi-pith	a place related to mother goddess.
dhadi	bard, minstrel.
dharmarth	religious endowment.
dharmsala	inn, a hostel for pilgrims.
diwankhana	audience and consultation room.
doab	intra-fluvial, territory enclosed by two rivers.
dvarapala	protective genius of Hindu temple entrance.
ekadashi	eleventh date of lunar fortnight.
fauj-i-khas	special (or Royal) corps. Here it means the French Brigade of the army of Ranjit Singh.
gach	gypsum.
gaddi	seat or throne of a guru.
gali	small street or lane.
garbha-griha	sanctuary of Hindu temple where the deity is enshrined.
gau-shala	an enclosure for cows.

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ghari	a measure of time.
gopis	the cowherd girls usually associated with Krishna and Vrindavan.
goshti	a discourse.
grahas	planets.
guru	one who delivers a person from ignorance by giving him the message which liberates and the technique to realise it.
gurudwara	literally the door of the guru, consequently a building in which the scriptures are housed; Sikh place of worship.
haveli	mansion.
holi	festival of colours in India.
hukka	a smoking contrivance (hubble-bubble).
jagir	a land gift given by a ruler.
jagirdar	landlord.
jalao-khana	place of splendour, vestibule.
jangi lat	commander-in-chief.
janamsakhis	a traditional biography, literally birth evidences or live evidences.
jarat-kari	stone-inlay.
kadim	old.
kalam	style of painting.
kankar	gravel.
kashi	a kind of glazed tiling.
katha	exegesis of scriptures.
khakha	cartoon, outline.
khangah	lodge of a Muslim saint.
khatri	belonging to Kashatriya caste.
kirtan	singing of songs in praise of God, normally to the accompaniment of music.
kotha/kothi	grain storage.
langarkhana	place of free kitchen, instituted by Sikh Gurus.
lila	divine sport.
mala	rosary.
mals	wrestlers.
mahal	palace, mansion.
mahant	head of religious institution or monastery.
mandir	temple.
marasan	a woman of the caste of traditional singer.
mari	a structure erected in memory of deceased.
marwari	the mercantile community of Rajasthan.
mazar	grave, tomb.
mela	fair.
minar	minaret, slender turret of a mosque from which the *muezzin* gives the call to prayer.
misal	a Sikh confederacy.
mistri	carpenter, craftsman.
mohalla	a ward, a part of a town or city.
mohra-kashi	a technique of fresco painting on wet plaster.
musawar	painter.
naqqash	designer.
navaratras	nine days of *Chaitra* (March-April) and *Asvina* (September-October) in which mother goddess is worshipped by Hindus.
nawab	a Muslim chief.
nayak	hero in a poem or play.
nayika	heroine in a poem or play.
nehla	small wooden shovel with a slight hunch in the middle.
nishan-sahib	saffron or blue flag bearing the Sikh symbols.
pacca/pucca	firm, established.
pahari	hillock, belonging to hills.
panchami	the fifth day of each half of the lunar month.
panchayat	village court or assembly.
panda	learned man, fortune teller.
pandit	teacher of traditional learning.
pares	a house for pilgrims, inn in villages of Haryana.
parikrama	open courtyard, ring of courtyards of Sikh shrines.
patha	a decorative border design.
pathshala	school, usually of traditional learning.
patti	group of families with a common ancestor.
piyali	small cup.
piyao	place where water is dealt out gratuitously.
pradakshanapath	circumambulatory passage of Sikh and Hindu shrine.
Qila/kila	fort or fortress
rababi	a person who plays on an instrument like violin and sings.
raga	musical melody.
ragini	musical melody (feminine form).
ragamala	string of melodies.
raibari	a trader in camels.
raj-mistri	a mason.
rang-mahal	richly painted hall, one of the most sumptuous pavilions in a palace-fortress.
rani	queen.

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rani-mahal	queen's palace.
ras-lila	amorous games of Krishna.
sadhu	ascetic, saint.
sahib	a European master.
salam	salutation.
samadh	a cenotaph, mausoleum.
sangat	gathering, congregation.
sang-i-sabz	green stone.
sarai	carvansarai, halting place.
sardar	a respectable form of address for Sikhs/Afghans.
shahid	martyr.
shikhara	spire or tower over Hindu temple.
shish-mahal	mirror-room; a hall reserved for festive occasions and decorated with mirrors.
shivala	a temple devoted to Shiva.
solono	a religious festival of Gurgaon.
sringara	erotic.
sunar	goldsmith.
tabut	a box in which dead body is placed.
tarkhan	carpenter.
tat-patti	a coarse sort of sacking.
tehsil	sub-division of a district.
thakurdwara	Hindu temple.
thakurji	God.
tirthankar	any of the twenty-four apotheosized Jain masters.
topi	cap, hat.
tosha-khana	a place where precious articles are kept, store-room.
tukri work	setting in of glass pieces in walls.
udasi	order of ascetics claiming Sri Chand, son of Guru Nanak, as their founder.
vahana	animal or bird serving as a vehicle of Hindu deity.
vanaras	the monkey tribe.
virahni	a lady suffering pangs of separation of lover.
wazir	minister.
zamindar	peasant proprietor.

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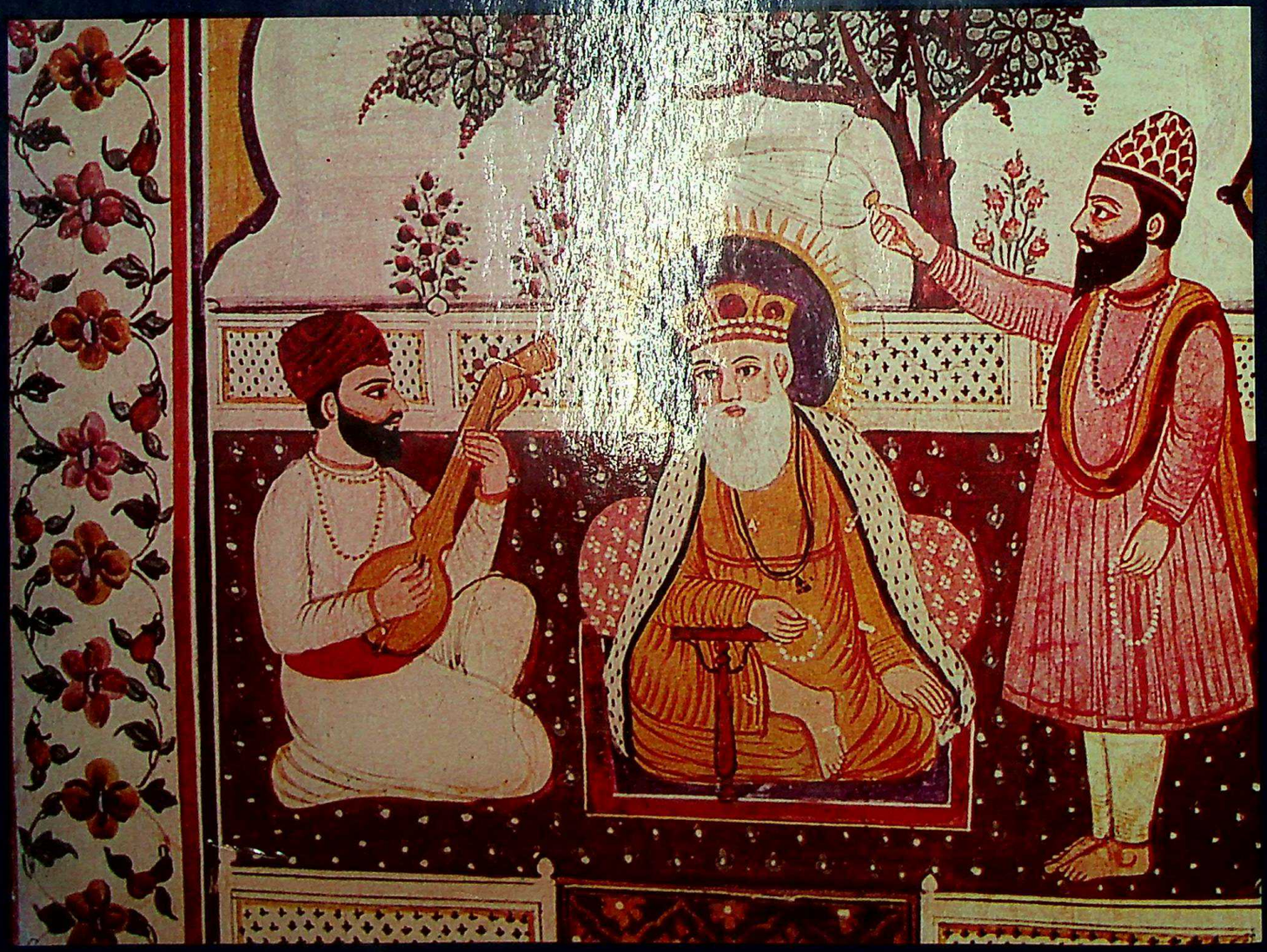
WALL PAINTINGS OF PUNJAB AND HARYANA